University of Alberta

The Wannabe Olympics:
The Gay Games, Olympism, and Processes of Incorporation

By

Judy Louise Davidson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

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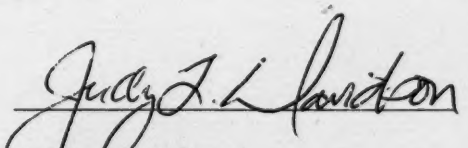

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *The Wannabe Olympics: The Gay Games, Olympism, and Processes of Incorporation* submitted by *Judy Louise Davidson* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*.

Dr. Debra Shogan

Dr. Janine Brodie

Dr. Douglas Aoki

Dr. Heather Zwicker

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Dec 13, 2002

For Grammy, who will always be in my corner.

Gladys Louise McCalla (Wilkinson)

1907-2001

Abstract

"We are the educators of the world and we are worth knowing." This statement, excerpted from a speech Tom Waddell gave at the end of Gay Games II in 1986, encapsulates the fervent desire of their founder (Waddell) to have gays and lesbians welcomed as full human beings into athletic contexts and society at large. In this dissertation, I argue that the metonymic relationships between Tom Waddell, his death, homophobic shame, and juridical Olympic prohibitions underpin and motivate the production of a frenzied athletic event of urgent gay pride. Loss, prohibition, and melancholia are considered as conditions of possibility for the emergence and success of the Gay Games and Cultural Events. When the United States Olympic Committee was granted a court injunction to stop the first Gay Olympic Games from using the word 'Olympic' in 1982, the ceaseless haunting of the Gay Games by discourses of Olympism and queer shame was secured. The (sometimes unconscious) identifications with things Olympic and with gay pride discourses have both enabled and constrained the success and viability of the Gay Games through the past 20 years. I outline the historical events leading up to the loss of the word Olympic in a US Supreme Court decision and the death of Tom Waddell shortly after that decision. Each of the Gay Games from 1982 until 1998 are then read as complicated processes of melancholic incorporation, where shame and pride are important parts of a particular identification which produces the fraught relationship between Olympism and the Gay Games. I use Judith Butler's argument about gender melancholia (1990, 1997) and rework that heuristic to consider how loss has operated in the discursive production of the Gay Games. The dissertation ends with a queer reading of gender drag as sport at the Gay Games. This is suggested as a

hypothetical possibility for the Gay Games to disrupt their melancholic identification with a shaming Olympism.

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The Wannabe Olympics: The Gay Games, Olympism, and Processes of Incorporation

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Section I: Introduction

Part One - The Doctoral Candidate Confession: Introducing a Dissertation.

I have been much bedevilled recently about experience and how to integrate it politically and theoretically in my work. How can it be used effectively without being seen as originary, founding or ahistorically determining? How can I explore the tensions between exposing social injustices with violent effects and reifying the imperative to analyse those experiences for the discursive power relations propping up those experiences? When sharing experiences makes apparent the need for change, which in turn invokes calls for justice and transformation, how then does one avoid the pitfalls of emancipatory and liberation narratives that seem to inevitably fall back into restrictive and determining constructions of identity and subjectivity? If 'you' are not in your own work, how is it little more than disembodied, rarefied theory? How can it have any political efficacy?

The first substantive part of this dissertation introduction is a partial telling of my story, including some of the experiences I have had on the road to becoming an academic. While the narrative informs how I came to the dissertation idea, and who I might be within the project, it is also an example of how I might go about theorising and analysing some of the representations that I generate about my research topic, the Gay Games and Cultural Events. If the ostensible purpose of the dissertation and the doctoral examination is to ascertain the candidate's ability to carry out their proposed research, what follows is an endeavour to demonstrate my competence to "use" the theory I describe.

Foucault's (1990) notion of the confessional suggests that to produce truth, we are compelled to confess, tell all we know in great detail and with great regularity. Confessing one's experience will free up the truth and that truth will be free from power, producing liberty and freedom. Although Foucault's focus was on sex, I think the notion of experience can be substituted as it is currently configured

within certain progressive academic circles. "These sites radiated discourses aimed at [experience], intensifying people's awareness of it as a constant danger, and this in turn created a further incentive to talk about it" (Foucault, 1990, p. 31). What remain hidden in the confessional technique are the ways in which it operates as an instrument of power, producing various truths, discourses and subjectivities:

> The confessional is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile; a ritual in which the truth is corroborated by the obstacles and resistances it has had to surmount in order to be formulated; and finally, a ritual in which the expression alone, independently of its external consequences, produces intrinsic modifications in the person who articulates it (Foucault, 1990, p. 61-62).

In some ways I am compelled to tell my story because it seems necessary to be able to (re)produce myself as a writer, as a student, as a thinker. To tell this decidedly incomplete narrative has been a way for me to engage in the process of writing this dissertation, to give myself permission to not engage ALL of the overwhelming theory, and simply talk about 'me'. To even begin to narrate my project, I must frame extensive aspects of my life to make it manageable. There is much that must be left unsaid. What are the meanings that get delimited, that are hidden? These necessary, not visible, concealed excesses will be identified as constitutive of the interesting aspects of experience that I want to trouble, to query and to talk about. So here is 'me', trying to be reflexive about the constraining quandaries and productive tensions of experiential confessions, knowing that it

will on some levels 'fail', but that it will also 'work' if only by opening my dissertation.

I remember when I first thought of the general idea for this dissertation project. It was almost 7 years ago; I was relaxing (supposedly) in the bathtub. It was summertime and I was working in an administrative job as a very disciplined and disciplining subject. The thought of a PhD was a far off dream that had no basis in my immediate or midterm future reality. At that historical moment, the amorphous project centred on an "alternative lifestyle" configured as gay or lesbian, and how it was produced through highly capitalist and consumptive means, perhaps more so it seemed to me, than through sexual means. I sensed that big queer[1] spectacles were becoming fertile ground for the production of a middle class gay and lesbian imaginary whilst complicitly producing a rather narrow normative identity. I started to articulate out loud what the thing might look like, having no sense of when this might actually happen. At first it was going to cover so many wonderful things including the Gay Games, the Sydney Lesbian and Gay Mardi Gras, the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, and various North American Gay Pride marches and celebrations. Of course I was coming to this new idea while I was painting (shall we say "redecorating") the basement of my mortgaged middle-class home in a lovely, safe, gentrifying, urban community. The "lifestyle" irony is not lost on me.

And then my partner and I moved to Ontario for her education and my seemingly interminable unemployment. The escape (if there was one) became returning to school, knowing bureaucratic discourse well enough to thoroughly put the welfare system to its most profitable use. The bathtub idea was on its way, the PhD was officially started. After about a year, subject to the law of the University, the project had to be constrained and certain juridical type decisions were made. The proposal had to be made manageable for a dissertation. Choose one event, was the

word. I had already invested many years and dollars in the Physical Education and Recreation discipline. Where do I stand the best place of getting a job? My gendered (and perhaps academic disciplinary) sense of insecurity is still exercising its constitutive effects in producing a powerful inferiority complex about my work. The niche market in Sport and Leisure Studies for po-mo types is probably far less competitive than in other discipline areas. Therefore, making it sport specific seemed politic, even though the larger, long term projects could be hammered into tourism discourses. The Gay Games, I'll choose the Gay Games. Be pragmatic, do the smart project. Don't be one of those smart people who do dumb things. Although perhaps that is a moot point given the subject matter of my dissertation. Who wants to hire a lesbian liability?

It is not sheer cavalier employment strategies that draw me to the work in Physical Education. My university career to date has been within the "jock" discipline, both as undergraduate and graduate student. The "dumb jock" identity has been both constraining and enabling for me. I remember one day in a senior Canadian Studies undergraduate course, a mature Arts student turned to me in class and said, "You do pretty well for a phys. ed. student," intimating of course that jocks cannot, or in a best case scenario, do not, think. Recently, at a University sponsored professional development seminar, I mentioned that I study queer theory and the Arts Faculty member who led the session asked me excitedly from which department was I? When I responded with Physical Education and Recreation, his face took on a blank expression and he immediately lost interest, as though for him there could be no way in which to engage a productive interdisciplinary endeavour. It is not my wish here to discuss the validity of the content of these discourses, how they can be refuted or whether the dumb jocks substantively even exist anymore. Following Foucault, I am interested in how power operates and is exercised, with what discursive effects, and how there might be strategies to turn discourse back on itself to expose constructedness.

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[1] I will elaborate on the use of the term queer in the section Queer Gender Performativity later in

These types of exchanges helped produce my graduate student identity. While the signifier "dumb jock" is transparently derogatory, it has also created a subjective space for me to develop a certain confidence as a scholar. I have often consoled my precariously constructed (and competitively invested) intellectual self with the notion that if I don't do well in a "proper" social theory course, I am just a dumb jock after all. This contingent identity has worked for me as a form of psychic liability insurance, enabling me to enter interdisciplinary spaces and once there, to become the fallback position (dumb jock) if necessary. Fortunately, I have generally been marked as successful, which in turn, produces me as a more confident intellectual. But I have been in way over my head and out of my depth (the swimming metaphors here are interesting!) in various contexts and have gladly put my tail between my legs and run home to the Van Vliet Centre where studied ignorance and anonymity seem very safe indeed. Because I am one of a handful of students in my faculty who even engage poststructuralist theory, and one of two individuals who is researching lesbigay/queer issues, I am a big fish in a small pond. The sport sociology discipline in North America is small, with few individuals supporting, let alone doing, explicitly anti-foundationalist work. There are many opportunities for me to be perceived as the "expert", to be the authority and to take up scholarly challenges in ways that I doubt I would practice in more constrained circumstances, that is, with more similarly trained minds running around the halls.

The undergraduate students whom I teach, talk and write about being labelled as dumb jocks by other students in cross campus courses and by their friends and peers. These instances of unflattering constructions can be turned on their heads for productive pedagogical moments. I have invoked the stereotype of the dumb jock to engage, at times compellingly, undergraduate physical education students to talk about difference, specifically in how they are constructed and construct

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this chapter.

themselves as different as jocks, as athletes and as individuals who for the most part engage in or value physical activity. It is not important for me at these moments to engage in the rhetoric of excellence and empirically "prove" how well PE students perform, to make the case that our discipline is rigorous and legitimate, or to give students strategies on how to combat the negative effects of dumb jock jokes. It is to take up a discursive construction such as dumb jock and turn it back on itself within its own discourse. This is one attempt to make the notion of the 'subaltern' meaningful to these otherwise generally privileged, apolitical students when gender, sexuality, race or class are not as productive for this kind of 'invested' teaching moment.

But I am not really (if you'll allow this strategic enlightenment ontological performative for the moment) a jock, dumb or not. I entered the BPE program as an outdoor education student, a 'shrub', who polemically espoused environmental and other counter-culture axioms such as group work and community building. I played cooperative games in the mountains and the bush, executing physical skills which in comparison to mainstream sport were non-rationalised or unorganised. I wanted to do (and perhaps was doing) reverse-discourse even before my feminist consciousness-raising. I do not know what it means to be an 'elite' athlete, I do not 'know' (nor feel compelled that I must know) the inside culture of the gym or arena or field or locker room as so many of my colleagues do. It was here too, that I became aware of lesbians, but never quite 'got it'. A sexist outdoor education climate propelled me into Women's Studies courses where I started to articulate feminism and was introduced to poststructuralist theory. It was here that I emerged as a dyke, not in the proverbial lesbian Petri dish of the athletic locker room or the all-girl team. This otherness (athletic, intellectual, sexual) fostered and enabled by my own interdisciplinary longings and a (then) flexible BPE curriculum, has tempted me to leave my sporting disciplinary home on many occasions.

Being 'outside' (but not) within my faculty often spurs me to passionate investments in theory and practice that may overcompensate for the theoretical and paradigmatic strategies I espouse. My reactionary self invests much in many of my debates, desperately needing to prove my point(s). It is from this experience that my dissertation project hails, both in terms of redressing the lack of and creating work on queer subjects, as well as to generate queer theoretical writing and thinking which the sport studies discipline lacks. There are days when I think that the lack I am trying to fulfil is as insatiable and ineluctable as the one Lacan posits in the fable of subjective misrecognition. For this dissertation project can never be wholly completed - theoretically or empirically, for the meanings and identifications produced through the Gay Games will always be rearticulating themselves.

Discourse Analysis as Methodological Approach

> It is difficult for humans to live without secure grounds below and ontological or transcendental guarantees from above.
> (Flax, 1992, p. 451)

> My point is not that everything is bad,
> but that everything is dangerous.
> (Foucault in Dreyfuss and Rabinow, 1983, p. 231)

The dissertation uses Foucaultian discourse analysis techniques. What follows is a justification of the methodological issues involved in discourse analysis, and why I have chosen to use this particular orientation in my work. I explore how certain methodological assumptions are activated and deployed strategically within sport sociology, and also within the social science or the socio-cultural areas of physical education and kinesiology. I discuss how I have found my thinking to be subtly disciplined into a modernist research paradigm, implicitly valuing qualitative

methods without thinking that I was doing that kind of work. I then trace how I have come to understand poststructuralist theory. I briefly explain how I comprehend a project of Foucaultian discourse analysis and how that differs methodologically, theoretically and epistemologically from a qualitative methodology with its myriad of qualitative methods.

I will use some recent vignettes from my life as a student to exemplify the points I make. This is not to suggest that these stories and experiences are causal, or that how I interpret them was what the speaker intended I attribute to them, or that they can even be taken at face value. It is an attempt, albeit problematic, to make this often abstract conversation more interesting and perhaps a different tack at making it accessible. At times my comments will range outside of sport sociology for no other reason than that is where I am drawing my experiences to make my argument. Unfortunately, due to a lack of a critical mass of people, the sport sociologists in my department ally themselves (uneasily at times) with outdoor recreation students, sport management types, and indeed some people in the adapted physical activity area. I am even hesitant to take on the moniker sport sociologist. I study contemporary social theory, particularly queer and feminist poststructuralist theory, most recently seriously reading Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. It is not the kind of stuff many sport sociologists use or know. Besides, as Butler (1990, 1993) would argue, identities are constantly recreating themselves in the wake of reiterative and necessary performative failures, so what is a sport sociologist anyway? But, I am getting ahead of myself.

I have had two formative experiences that have jolted me into questioning the legitimacy of my research project. Even though these exchanges have been unsettling for me, they have been productive. The first of these occurred at the 1997 NASSS (North American Society for the Sociology of Sport) conference in Toronto where I presented an introductory sketch of the intentions of my discourse analysis about the Gay Games (Davidson, 1997). In the informal

discussion that followed I was approached by someone who said, "Of course you'll be going to Denver next week." "Why?" I asked naively. "Because the 2002 Games site will be announced there," my interlocutor responded. At the time I said something offhand about not being able to really afford to be in Toronto, let alone jetting off to Denver. But I was left with the uneasy feeling that I was supposed to be there in Denver, and even though my head was saying this wasn't necessary, I still had my doubts.

This happened more profoundly for me a second time about a year later. I am fortunate to be able to meet regularly with a group of women (students and select staff) from my faculty. Once every couple of weeks, we get together at a local coffee bar just off campus to indulge in beer, share theoretical dilemmas and wrestle with methodological issues. These conversations had focussed around issues of postmodernism and discourse analysis for several months. One day, we did a round where each individual spoke to her current research project. I described my plans to do a Foucaultian discourse analysis about the Gay Games, being especially interested in troubling how various sexual identities are produced through that event. I briefly explained the Gay Games history and that (at the time of this conversation) they were to be in Amsterdam in August of 1998. "Oh so you get to go to Amsterdam, how exciting! Were you there in New York in '94?" was the response of the group.

When I told them that I had never been to any of the Games, and that I was not going to be in Amsterdam, the response was swift and concise. "How are you going to be able to really get at sexual identity issues if you don't interview people there? How are you going to know what it's really like? You're going to miss all the subtle detail." I appealed first to the economic and then the theoretical. "I can't afford to go," while my guts churned and fear radiated through my body. My 'out loud' voice continued, "And I don't need to be there to do a representational analysis," while inside my head my ever present critic (the traditional, modernist

critic no less!), was busy undermining my 'out loud' voice. "Second rate research, not good enough, who are you trying to kid? You're missing a golden opportunity. All this talk about discourse analysis is really meaningless." I had been studying 'poststructuralist' theory for several years and I am still amazed at how certain modernist, capital 'T' truth assumptions are strategically deployed. Since this little crisis of confidence, I have endeavoured to be very clear about what discourse analysis is, if that is even possible, what it does, and how it is fundamentally different from the qualitative project.

One of the first machinations that I went through was to justify not going to Amsterdam because I had not been to any of the other Games and therefore it would throw off my objectivity by just going to the 1998 Games. I quickly took that reasoning apart. If that were my argument, I would be presuming and privileging a notion of objectivity, and would be propping up the premises of the scientific (social scientific) method yet again. What I needed to make clear was the difference in the underlying epistemological bases of modernist (what I think some individuals refer to as a realist) project, which is where I place qualitative methodologies, and distinguishing that from the aims of a discourse analysis. The discussion would have to be about not just what is the nature of knowledge, but how is it generated, and which forms of knowledge generation become sedimented, naturalised and hegemonic? Theorists placed under the rubric of poststructuralism ask these fundamental questions.

My entry point into poststructuralist theory came through studying feminist theory as an undergraduate and Master's student. I revelled in the debates about theory, practice, politics and went through the seemingly requisite consciousness-raising process. However, as the theoretical conversations turned to identity politics and questions of difference, I began to analyse my own experiences of homophobic exclusion and erasure within academia. I questioned the viability of the ontological status of 'woman', and then how the signifier 'woman' is strategically

deployed through discursive sites. It was becoming pretty apparent to me that we weren't all sisters necessarily, or that some of us were better sisters than others. Perhaps this is when I began to be produced as a bad girl.

For me, one of the most compelling features of second wave feminist theory is the adage 'the personal is political'. This phrase has authorised many women to speak, to theorise and to write about and politicise the construction of femininity and sexism in our culture. It has disrupted and reconfigured aspects of institutions, sociality, and forms of knowledge. But the deployment of this phrase and other feminist claims has produced other truth effects, sanctioning certain forms of femininity and producing normative expectations and explanations. The hope of a feminist standpoint epistemology to produce a better, more innocent knowledge retains the tenets of the post-Enlightenment paradigm that rational thought can dis/cover truth free from power. In her book *Epistemology of the Closet*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990) suggests that the work of certain contemporary theorists has "question[ed] both the ethical/political simplicity of the category of 'knowledge', so that a writer who appeals too directly to the redemptive potential of simply upping the cognitive wattage on any question of power seems, now, naive" (p. 7).

The expression, 'the personal is political', immediately privileges the assumption that you must have the lived experience to be able to know it, to talk about it, to theorise it. Experience is neither innocent nor transparent. It is always already produced in and through our identity locations. Experience must be interrogated not just on its own terms but through its discursive production as well. I think it is worth quoting Joan Scott (1992) at some length here. This is from her crucial (to me at any rate) article entitled "Experience". Much feminist theory (and I would suggest most critical sociological analyses)

> take[s] as self-evident the identities of those whose experience is being documented and thus naturalise their difference. They locate resistance outside its discursive construction, and reify agency as an inherent attribute of individuals, thus decontextualising it....Questions about the constructed nature of experience, about how subjects are constituted as different in the first place, about how one's vision is structured - about language (or discourse) and history - are left aside. The evidence of experience then becomes evidence for the fact of difference, rather than a way of exploring how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what ways it constitutes subjects who see and act in the world (Scott, 1992, p.25).

Unproblematised experiences become the basis for theory and knowledge production, propping up and reiterating the implicitly unitary, autonomous subject of Cartesian rationalism. It is this troubling of how to deal with experience that my subconscious has not yet suffused, as my fear response to the questioning of my research approach demonstrates. Modernist methodology is a discourse which produces powerful and far-reaching effects. I refer to Joan Scott again. "What could be truer, after all, than a subject's own account of what he or she has lived through? This ....appeal[s] to experience as uncontestable [sic] evidence and as [an] originary point of explanation" (Scott, 1992, p.24). The construction of this kind of ontological performative is a tricky one to take apart at times. When voices from a subjugated identity get a chance to make their subjugated knowledges known through recourse to experience, who wants to rain on that emancipatory parade?

Identity and personal locatedness are powerful and very important aspects of research, theory generation and politics. However, how identity is theorised is absolutely crucial. When I was discussing this issue with the aforementioned group of women, I was asked if you had to be gay to study the Gay Games. The

questioner herself is an able-bodied intellectual studying physical activity among persons with intellectual disabilities. She has struggled with these very difficult questions. For me the answer is no, you do not have to be the identity you study. There are many narratives to be told about the Gay Games, not one true truth. How each researcher, participant, or organiser represents the event will produce a Gay Games discourse. However, I find Foucault's (1980) notion of the specific intellectual compelling. Intellectuals are not free from power, and therefore cannot be dispassionate or objective observers. While I do not want my analysis to "claim to correspond either to the everyday meanings shared by the actors or, in any simple sense, to reveal the intrinsic meanings of the practices" (Dreyfuss and Rabinow, 1983, p. 15), I am compelled to engage in the struggles of living as a dyke in Western culture. It provides me a specific place from which I work.

When I say, "I am a lesbian," it does not posit an essential, seamless notion of identity. It is a contingent identity used for political purposes. The postmodern is complicit with the modern and needs the modern to prop up and give meaning to politically useful categories. The lesbian signifier is not a static, knowable thing - it is a hotly contested term both within and outside of the identity category, but it is an oppressed location, a powerfully constructed subaltern 'difference'. It is constantly reproduced (as is any other identity category) through reiterative performative failures (Butler, 1990, 1993). Thus, within certain contexts, I strategically use a political identity called 'lesbian', and within others I will continually and conscientiously call into question the identity 'lesbian', that is expose the ideological liabilities and excessive, uncontrollable meanings produced in the repetitive, unproblematised use of the term (Butler, 1992).

So it is that I embark on a discourse analysis of the Gay Games and Cultural Events without ever actually 'being' at one. The analysis considers how normalising notions of sexual identity, sport, lifestyle, and organisational structures are produced at the Games, and ends with a speculative queering of the

Games. I am not so interested in the 'what' of the Gay Games, but the 'how'. What are the conditions of possibility for this event to be seen as a raging success 20 years after its first incarnation? What representational strategies have been used and developed in that time frame?

Asking how certain phenomena come to be legitimate, normal, meaningful and hegemonic is not to suggest that what they are about is unimportant. However I am more interested in analysing which discursive strategies prop up the phenomena, and what resulting discourses do and how they work. David Halperin (1995) suggests that in a Foucaultian discourse analysis one does "not allow the truth or falsity of particular propositions to distract us from the power-effects they produce or the manner in which they are deployed within particular systems of discursive and institutional practice" (p. 31). How I went about getting the representational information about the Games used in my analysis is explained in the following brief methods section.

Method

Through analysis of print media (mainstream and alternative), archival materials, and organisational documents, the Gay Games have been que(e)ried through discourse analysis. I have done extensive (but not exhaustive) archival research on each of the first 5 Games, focussing primarily on Gay Games I and II in 1982 and 1986, and the creation of the Federation of Gay Games in 1989. This retrieval work has included select newspaper searches at the time of each of the Games, alternative gay and lesbian presses (especially in the host cities), glossy and mainstream gay and lesbian media, the Federation of Gay Games archives, and other forms of coverage including internet sources and independent video productions. From this research, I have chosen to tell the story of how the Gay Games and Cultural Events have emerged and flourished as one of the largest amateur sporting events in the world and a major lesbian and gay tourist spectacle.

The Gay Games, What Might Be Said, What Remains Unsaid (literally!)

> What sustains our eagerness to speak of sex in terms of repression is doubtless this opportunity to speak out against the powers that be, to utter truths and promise bliss, to link together enlightenment, liberation and manifold pleasures; to pronounce a discourse that combines the fervour of knowledge, the determination to change the laws, and the longing for the garden of earthly delights. This is perhaps what also explains the market value attributed not only to what is said about sexual repression, but also to the mere fact of lending an ear to those who would eliminate the effects of repression (Foucault, 1990, p.6).

The Gay Games (A Brief Description)

The Gay Games and Cultural Events were founded in 1982 by Dr. Tom Waddell. This former Olympic decathlete's vision to provide opportunities where "athletes could openly celebrate both their athletic and sexual identities in ways not currently possible in most mainstream sporting events" (Griffin, 1998, p.190) is reflected in the Federation of the Gay Games purpose. It is "to foster and augment the self-respect of lesbians and gay men throughout the world and to engender respect and understanding from the non-gay world, primarily through an organised international participatory athletic and cultural event held every four years" ("FGG Bylaws", 1989).

The first of these quadrennial Games was held in 1982 and they have since become major events. San Francisco was the site for the first two games (in 1982 and 1986) and Celebration '90 was staged in Vancouver. These Games were the largest sporting event of its kind held in the world in 1990. New York City hosted Unity '94, which included the marking of the 25th Anniversary of the Stonewall Riots (often heralded as the 'birth' of the gay rights movement). Over ten thousand

people participated in 1994. Gay Games V and Cultural Events were held in Amsterdam in August, 1998. Fifteen thousand athletes competed in 30 events in Amsterdam with 250,000 spectators involved in cheering them on. Gay Games VI are being hosted in Sydney, Australia, utilising the Sydney Olympic Park for many of the events. The sixth Games open in November, 2002. The city of Montreal was granted the seventh Gay Games to be held in 2006. It will be the second time the Gay Games are held in Canada. The Federation of Gay Games is the international governing body for this organisation which claims to be the most inclusive major sporting event in the world. The spectacle is a fascinating mixture of a highly professionalised, rationalised organisation which legitimates an 'alternative lifestyle' to a gathering of thousands of queers playing out contested identities and political agendas throughout the event.

Typically, work within gay and lesbian studies represents these kinds of events in a celebratory manner, entrenching a 'proud' lesbian and gay identity. I am interested in how the Gay Games and Cultural Events have participated in this perpetuation of 'pride' events which are the outcome of thirty years of lesbian and gay liberation struggles. In the contemporary historical moment, when gays and lesbians are seeking (and losing) human rights rulings through the courts and legislatures, it is significant that those decisions be informed by understandings of lesbian and gay identity which reflect the complicated diversity within this large and varied community. I complicate the nuances of sexual identity construction and politics as they have been played out at the Gay Games. As a 'pride' event, the Gay Games disrupt a conservative discourse of homosexuality as aberrant and deviant. However, the very structure and administration of the Games produce gay and lesbian identities which are congruent with rationalised, commodified lifestyles. Within this context, I analyse the processes by which certain sexual identities (both within and outside the gay and lesbian community) come to be more meaningful and hegemonic than other identities.

What Remains Unsaid (Or The Review of Literature!)

There has been almost no serious academic study of the Gay Games. A recent Ph.D. dissertation by Judith Cramer (1996) examines the role(s) of the media on meanings of homosexuality produced and circulated by alternative and mainstream newspapers around the 1994 Games in New York. Vikki Krane, a sport psychologist, has explored empirically the psychological experience of participating in the Gay Games (Krane & Romont, 1997, Krane & Waldron, 2000). I have written a short piece that demonstrates a particular reading of lesbian politics as they were played at the 1990 Vancouver Gay Games (Davidson, 1996). Michael Messner (1994a) interviewed Tom Waddell about his motivations and hopes for initiating the Games before Waddell's death in 1987. In the English abstract appended to a French article, Laberge (1995) suggests that the Gay Games are used as an example of an emancipatory sport practice leading to social transformation. The two 'groundbreaking' books on gays (Pronger, 1990a) and lesbians (Griffin, 1998) in sport each mention the importance of the Gay Games to homo athletes and to the organisation of gay and lesbian sport. None of the work to date engages with poststructuralist cultural theoretical and/or discourse analysis in framing how the Gay Games might be understood. Primarily, coverage of the Games has been limited to celebratory 'coffee table', memorabilia books of each of the 1986 (Coe), 1990 (Forzley and Hughes), and 1994 (Labrecque) Games or to brief, descriptive articles (among others see Muzin, 1989; Temple, 1991).

Other than scattered, empirically based research studies, there is limited critical work being done regarding gay and lesbian experiences in sport, recreation and leisure, and even less in studying lesbian or gay events. Tourism studies has recently started to consider the emerging niche market of gay and lesbian travellers (Johnston, 2001; Pritchard *et al*, 2000). A recent special, double issue of *GLQ – A journal of lesbian and gay studies* was entitled "Queer tourism: Geographies of globalization" (Kaur Puar, 2002). There have been two journals in

the leisure studies field which have recently devoted special issues to sexual diversity (which reads as traditional, unproblematised homosexuality, i.e. gay and lesbian). In 1997, the *Journal of Leisurability* proudly professed to be the first recreation and leisure publication to explore homosexuality (explicitly noting in the introduction that all authors and contributors should not be assumed to be homosexual!). And again in 1997, (a watershed year it appears), *Women's Sport and Physical Activity Journal* produced a special issue on sexual diversity. Both of these special editions focussed primarily on documenting the qualitative experiences of lesbians and gay men within sport, recreation and leisure. Discussions of homophobia and how to combat it and theorising psychological sexual identity formation models comprise the basis of both journals.

This type of work, in addition to testimonial stories or exposés of famous gay male athletes (Miller, 1998; 2001 are exceptions), continues the general theme of what has been published to date about gays and lesbian in the sport and leisure studies field (among others see Fusco, 1996, 1998; Griffin, 1992, 1993; Johnson, 2000; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Lenskyj, 1986, 1991; Messner, 1994a, 1994b; Pronger, 1990a, 1990b; Sabo, 1994). This literature becomes focussed on policy issues and application of ideas to incorporate lesbian and gay positive interventions in various mainstream recreation, education and sporting contexts. Confessions by major professional athletes of their HIV-positive status have produced (concealed and invisible investments as incitement to discourse?) a series of articles on homophobic sports media representation (Burroughs, Ashburn, and Seebohm, 1995; Dworkin & Wachs, 1998; Messner, 1994b; Wachs and Dworkin, 1997).

There have been attempts to inject anti-foundationalist social theory into the sport and leisure studies disciplines. In an article published in *Leisure studies*, Cara Aitchison (2000) overviews the usefulness of and resistance to postructuralist feminism for leisure studies . Heather Sykes (1996) calls for a materialist feminist

analysis of a sporting lesbian identity, including how various institutional discourses produce the concept lesbian. Gill Clarke (1998) attempts to use Foucaultian discourse analysis in considering the experiences of lesbian British PE educators. However, both Sykes and Clarke revert back to relying on structural foundation-like certainties, while misreading poststructuralist accounts as going too far because they reduce social and material phenomena to "mere" text or discourse. Michael Messner (1996) considers queer theory in much the same vein, wanting to privilege a critical materialist account of sex, while reducing poststructuralism to "just" language. In an article I co-authored with Debra Shogan, we take Messner to task for not only trivialising and misrepresenting queer theory, but also reinscribing heterosexist privilege through supposedly emancipatory narratives (Davidson & Shogan, 1998). Sykes' (1998, 2001) more recent work avoids this tension and considers psychoanalytic theory and deconstruction in how to understand the life histories of lesbian physical educators.

Some sport sociology literature is using more postmodern and queer theory. Birrell and Cole (1990) analyse reaction to transsexual tennis player Renee Richards while David Andrews (1996) investigates race as an unstable signifier using Michael Jordan as an example. Michael Messner (1996) overviews queer theory and its usefulness to sport sociology (see above), and Cole and Hribar (1995) have written about Nike, post-Fordism and Third World working women. Hood-Williams (1995) puts forth a very interesting analysis on how various sport apparatus (including sport sociology) rely on a conception of sex as biologically dimorphic. An entire issue of the *Journal of Sport Sociology* was dedicated to French theorists (Rail and Harvey, 1995a); specifically Rail and Harvey's (1995b) article in that issue takes up how the work of Michel Foucault has been used in sports studies. Two recent edited anthologies on sport and postmodernism have been produced (Rail, 1998; Fernandez-Balboa, 1997). The most theoretically sustained work to date is Shogan's (1999) *The making of high-performance*

athletes: Discipline, diversity and ethics where she maps Foucault's technologies of discipline, power and ethics onto the elite sporting body. This is a growing body of literature which is sophisticated and complex in its theorising of sport in the late 20th century.

My point in this abbreviated review of the sport and leisure studies literature is not to disparage and dismiss this work as unimportant. I could comment further in various ways about my perceptions and thoughts as to its political efficacy and theoretical sophistication. Nonetheless, the existing sport and recreation lesbigay discourses are important because the powerful, pernicious effects of homophobia in sport need to be directly addressed and ameliorative interventions need to be considered. The experiences of lesbian and gay athletes must continue to be documented and explored. Inasmuch as I am indebted to a whole generation of feminist scholars and queer theorists, to some extent I am just as indebted to this small group of sport studies scholars who have been willing to lay it on the line within a very hostile climate[2]. Their work is a condition of possibility for my work. My work, however, intends to have a very different focus with a different set of strategies.

A Discourse Analysis

At a recent gathering, I was discussing queer theory with a Comparative Literature Ph.D. student and she asked about the topic of my dissertation work. "Well that's an old topic," she responded, baffling me momentarily, "there have been gay athletes since the time of the Greeks!" This (unintentional) universalising, ahistoricising response exemplifies the difficulties and dilemmas of doing queer

[2] I was recently reminded of how hostile an environment physical education can be. In May 2002, I presented a conference paper discussing sexuality and pedagogy in postsecondary PE contexts. The CAHPER (Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation) conference, held in Banff, had attracted many people, most of whom were public school physical education teachers. I was surprised that we had a roomful of 50 people attending our session on postmodernism and curriculum. I was the last of five presenters and as I introduced my paper,

historical work. In the 1960s and early 1970s, gay liberationists consciously fashioned a history to create a mythical gay past, to recuperate homosexuals that had been written out or demonised and pathologised within existing historical accounts, through positing their own experiences and reading them backward in time (D'Emilio in Bravmann, 1995). Jennifer Terry (1991) argues that history cannot simply be an uncovering of all the great queers of the ages (the myth of the eternal homosexual), as this conceals the discursive operations which produced the identity "homosexual". The exemplar of this historico-discursive production of sexual identity is crystallised in Foucault's (1990) now oft-quoted passage from *The history of sexuality*. "The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species" (p. 43).

Scott Bravmann (1995, 1996) has suggested that post-Stonewall lesbian and gay narratives are presented as "comedic" narratives with happy, progressive endings. Without negating the positive changes that have occurred over the last 30 years, it is important to be critical about the historical, political and theoretical work regarding lesbian and gay identities which has been produced. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that existing work has been productive in creating a certain kind of lesbian and gay history through which certain identities have been made possible through this
type of history-making. A "concern with memory focuses our attention on the relationship between the past and present rather than the past alone as a distant, discrete object" (Bravmann, 1995, p.55). Writing a history of the present for the Gay Games will be a crucial aspect of my discourse analysis.

A history of the present should not be, in contradistinction to how the discipline proper primarily practices, linear nor reductive, but a complex entanglement of multiple discourses, "a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (Foucault, 1990, p. 100). Foucault is not interested in

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with words like homophobia, queer, gay, and lesbian being invoked in the first paragraph, the

revealing a truth, a way, or a natural unfolding of progressive events. A discourse analysis

> is opposed to a suprahistorical perspective that seeks to totalize history, to trace its internal development, to recognize ourselves in a comfortable way in the past, to offer the reassurance of an end toward which history moves (Dreyfuss and Rabinow, 1983, p. 110).

I have traced one particular rendering of the conditions of possibility for the emergence of the Gay Games. "Cultural practices are instituted historically and are therefore contingent, ungrounded except in terms of other, prior, contingent, historically instituted practices" (Fraser, 1989, p. 19). Identifying how dispersed forces (including knowledge) impinge on the formation of discourses will be a vital element of the analysis (May, 1993). I have chosen to read discourses of loss through psychoanalytic theory, and how early losses for the Gay Games, function as their condition of possibility.

David Halperin (1995) suggests discourse analysis "refuses to engage with the content of particular authoritative discourses...and to analyse discourses in terms of their overall strategy" (p. 38). The

> aim will not be to determine whether these discursive productions and these effects of power lead one to formulate the truth about sex [or the Gay Games], or on the contrary falsehoods designed to conceal the truth, but rather to bring out the 'will to knowledge' that serves as both their support and their instrument (Foucault, 1990, p.12).

I hope this reading of the Gay Games adds to a description of how "discourses have been constituted, how they function, how they have constructed their

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room emptied. I kept reading as literally 35 people, educated professionals all, fled the room.

subjects and objects, how they participate in the legitimation of oppressive social practices, and how they manage to make their own operations invisible" (Halperin, 1995, p. 43).

(Queer?) Gender Performativity

The very title of the *Gay* Games highlights the entrenchment of the axiomatic meaning of gay. Typically read as gay male, yet often conflated to include female same-sex attachment, the signifier keeps intact the binary logic of a hetero/homo system. To maintain a heterosexual imperative of opposite sex pairing, homosexuality operates as heterosexuality's constitutive Other. However, the homo/hetero binary still depends on the logic of two sexes, leaving intact assumptions about sex and gender as naturalised, reified definitive categories. Most sociological and second wave feminist theory relies on a notion of sex as biologically determined, based on anatomical, hormonal and chromosomal differences between men and women. Gender has come to be known as those cultural attributes that are attached to male and female sexed bodies and "gendered" behaviours are considered to be masculine and feminine. A major aspect of a feminist project has been to call attention to the ways in which power and resources are unequally distributed between men and women, and between masculine and feminine endeavours.

Judith Butler (1990) calls into question the "mimetic relation of gender to sex whereby gender mirrors sex or is otherwise restricted by it" (p. 6). She continues to make the counterintuitive claim that biological sex is not originary:

> Gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which "sexed nature" or "a natural sex" is produced and established as

> "prediscursive, prior to culture, a politically neutral surface *on which* culture acts (Butler, 1990, p. 7, original emphasis).

Sex is the effect of unavoidably complex and powerful gender discourses. The measure of the successfulness of the sex/gender system is the efficacy with which it hides the discursive mechanisms that produce it as a scientific and naturally occurring phenomenon.

I explore how the effects of sedimented sex/gender performatives are produced and reproduced at the Gay Games. On the surface, an emancipatory wish might suggest that a bunch of homo athletes getting together to play openly as gays and lesbians would politically subvert the notions of masculinist sport. That is, fags who are stereotyped as effeminate would perform athletically with skill and strength and lesbians, who through their very engagement in a masculinised enterprise such as sport, draw attention away from their feminine comportment and actions and become "masculine" (Shogan, 1999). This should be enough to suggest that the Gay Games are a destabilising enterprise which shake up notions of gender and sexuality. And within certain discursive contexts the very notion of a Gay Games is very disruptive, and resists the normalcy and ubiquitous presence of heterosexuality. However, there are no single meanings for any event. There will be a multitude of effects from any one signifier. The Gay Games are a complicated spectacle which deserves a complicated reading. Although gay athletes may appear (and to some extent are) transgressive, they often leave intact normalised ideas about gender. For although homosexual object choice is disruptive in certain contexts, it still reinscribes the normative ideals of male and female. The sex/gender dualism remains intact, albeit same-sexed. For homosexualities to disrupt sex/gender hierarchies and systems, the very notion of gender needs to be called into question. How can the deeply entrenched discourses of sex and sexuality be exposed for the repetitive performative failures that they are (Butler, 1990, 1993)?

Judith Butler (1993) suggests that to be critically queer, parodic reconfigurations of gender must be enacted. Replacing 'straight' athletes with 'gay' athletes is not always a strategy to shift dominant ideologies. For the subject to be queer, it cannot be purely oppositional, which effectively reinscribes the dominant notion (in this case, straight athletes) in its reversal:

> The subject who is "queered" into public discourse through homophobic interpellations of various kinds *takes up* or *cites* that very term as the discursive basis for an opposition. This kind of citation will emerge as *theatrical* to the extent that it *mimes and renders hyperbolic* the discursive convention that it also *reverses*. The hyperbolic gesture is crucial to the exposure of the homophobic "law" that can no longer control the terms of its own abjecting strategies (Butler, 1993, p. 232, original emphasis).

In concluding my argument concerning the production of Gay Games pride and sexual identity, I outline speculatively how the Games can be subverted in their resignification, that is, "*working the weakness in the norm*, [which] becomes a matter of inhabiting the practices of its rearticulation....[to expose] the failure of heterosexual regimes ever fully to legislate or contain their own ideals" (Butler, 1993, p.237, original emphasis).

The emphasis of queer theory is to disrupt and trouble any taken for granted notions. It is a term fraught with contradiction and peril. Once a term of violent, pathologising derision, queer has "queered" itself back into usage by destabilising, not supplanting, the notion of homosexual. Through the disruption of the reversed category, queer troubles the notion of heterosexual, without necessarily reinscribing the heteronormative imperative (Butler, 1993; Warner, 1993). Queer theory has been produced from within the tensions of an emerging lesbian and gay

studies discipline. It was first put into use by Teresa de Lauretis in 1991. She suggested that

> the term "Queer Theory" was arrived at in the effort to avoid all of the fine distinctions in our [lesbigay, transpeople, sexual dissidents etc.] discursive protocols, not to adhere to any one of the given terms, not to assume their ideological liabilities, but instead to both transgress and transcend them - or at the very least problematise them (p. v).

De Lauretis (1994) then distanced herself from the term a mere 3 years later suggesting that it had "quickly become a conceptually vacuous creature of the publishing industry" (p. 297). There has been much queer theory production (among others see Abelove, Barale, & Halperin, 1993; Butler, 1990, 1993; Sedgwick, 1990; Seidman, 1996; Warner, 1993; Fuss, 1991; Jagose, 1996; Halperin, 1995). The term queer has been under pressure for becoming a normative notion and therefore losing its critical force. It has been used to pit a younger generation of queers against an older group of lesbians and gay men; it has elided the specificities of gender and race inequalities between and amongst gays and lesbians producing a false impression of solidarity between queers; and it has become a commodified form of homo-chic. Since queer attempts to unhinge itself from any normative sexuality, it runs the risk of 'de-gaying' gayness, making invisible yet again the "forms of social disqualification from which lesbians and gay men suffer in virtue of our sexualities" (Halperin, 1995, p. 65).

All these liabilities aside, I am still compelled by the destabilising impulse of queer theory to call into question aspects of life that need to be read against the grain:

> Though queer as the endlessly mutating token of non-assimilation (and hence as the utopian badge of a would-be 'authentic' position of resistance)

> may reflect a certain bourgeois aspiration to be always *au courant*, its vigorous and unmethodical dislocations of 'identity' create, at the risk, to be sure, of producing a version of identity politics as postmodern commodity fetishism, a zone of possibilities in which the embodiment of the subject might be experienced otherwise (Edelman in Halperin, 1995, p. 67).

Queer theory resists "regimes of the normal" (Warner, 1993, p. xxvi). I will not be held to a substantive notion of homosexuality, but, instead I explore how those substantive notions discipline and are disciplined and how queer incursions strategically resist homophobic and other normative discourses.

I am forever caught in the quandary of identity politics. I am a lesbian who wants political change. But I am not able to assert that unproblematically. I must challenge some of the normative assumptions behind those claims to subjectivity and political impetus made in such an assertion. Perhaps, as Wendy Brown (1999) suggested, I might speak as a person whose experience as a lesbian informs my ideas, to clearly denote (and consciously resist a normalising discourse) that I am not essentially or inherently 'gay'. There is a similar tension in suggesting that, as a jock and a Physical Education student, I will carry out this subversive research about the Gay Games. For in producing such a subjective account, I may be complicitly contributing to a naturalising discourse of jock and PE, while at the same time disrupting the heteronormativity of sport and leisure studies and troubling the 'proud' discourse of lesbian and gay sport. In fact, it was the discovery that so much of the Gay Games literature and history is a normalising discourse that pushed me to consider yet another theoretical direction.

The world according to Judiths

> It's always interesting to find oneself in a situation that one can't write one's way out of. The impasse may be a clue to something real, an indication that one has stumbled upon something of potentially wider significance than one's own limitations, onto some major organizing structure of social meaning or some irreducible law of cultural discourse (Halperin, 1995, p. 10).

I have always been very clear that this dissertation would be a discourse analysis and that I wanted to use a queer theory approach within that. But, as I started to work through my archival material, there was an insistent pull (which I wanted to ignore but couldn't) to consider it in a psychoanalytic way. It has been an arduous process to write about psychoanalytic processes. In some ways I have returned to Freud, someone with whom I thought I would never consort. But it is a Freud read through Judith Butler and Butler read through Foucault with Davidson as some sort of master (?) manipulator. But, that all seems confusing and convoluted, so I am going to retrace how I have come to read the Gay Games as melancholically incorporated:

> The account of melancholy is an account of how psychic and social domains are produced in relation to one another. As such, melancholy offers potential insight into how the boundaries of the social are instituted and maintained, not only at the expense of psychic life, but through binding psychic life into forms of melancholic ambivalence (Butler, 1997, pp. 167-68).

In short, I will argue that the psychic domain is a condition of possibility for the social domain of the Gay Games.

As the first part of this chapter tries to elucidate, I am a reader of 1990s North American feminist theory and some of Michel Foucault's oeuvre. My relationship with Freud, Lacan, psychoanalytic theory or psychoanalysis of culture is new and tentative for me. This dissertation research represents my first formal foray into using psychoanalytic theory in any sort of serious or sustained manner. Many years ago (almost a decade) I took a graduate course offered by the Education Faculty in Theory and Curriculum from jan jagodzinski where he had us engage psychoanalytic concepts. Those concepts completely baffled and terrified me then, and in some ways, they still baffle and terrify me now.

In the fall of 2001, I attended two wonderful talks given by the social theorists Deborah Britzman and Alice Pitt at the University of Alberta. In the public discussions which followed those lectures, I listened to jan's erudite questions concerning ethics, and writing against discourse and poststructuralism from a psychoanalytic perspective. I was reminded again that my comfort with psychoanalytic theory is tenuous, at best. A week after those presentations, I presented a draft of this section of my dissertation alongside another paper given by dr. jagodzinski at a conference sponsored by the Education Faculty. When I saw that jan's conference presentation proposed to read Judith Butler and Jacques Lacan through Tim Dean (who I understand is not a fan of Butler's!), I was seriously terrified yet again. For, as a Foucaultian queer theorist, my current reading of psychoanalysis and this reading of the Gay Games rely heavily, one might suggest, exclusively upon Judith Butler, and I want to acknowledge that from the outset. At the time of my conference presentation, I implored jan to be gentle with me, suggesting that I was likely haunted by him. My insistence on stubbornly returning to psychoanalysis was likely inaugurated in his theory class many years ago. I have stubbornly returned again and again to my psychoanalytic theory loss in his pedagogical moment, doing, as Britzman had reminded us a week earlier, the never ending work of mourning.

It was only after I received very positive (and gentle) feedback from the conference attendees in November, 2001 that I was even ready to embrace seriously this reading of the Gay Games.[3] I use the psychoanalytic concept of melancholia, originally laid out explicitly by Freud in his 1917 paper "Mourning and Melancholia" and revised somewhat in "The Ego and the Id" in 1923 (Gay, 1989). I refer to Freud directly insofar as Judith Butler (1997) uses his ideas about melancholic identification. It was Butler's work that twigged me to the idea that the Gay Games are melancholically incorporated, produced through an egoic identification with a prohibited, homophobic Olympics. While I have read the original "Mourning and Melancholia", my access into these Freudian based concepts is based on my understanding of Judith Butler.

In the winter term of 1999, I took a graduate level Sociology course with Doug Aoki. His explanation of psychoanalysis (particularly his interpretation of the crucial Oedipal fable) was the first tenable account of the field that I was willing and able to grasp. It was Doug who first pointed out that to 'really' read Judith Butler (and at the time, I thought I 'knew' Butler) one must have some understanding of the psychoanalytic framework she employs. He introduced and explained to me the differences between introjection and incorporation, mourning and melancholia, and how Butler rendered these concepts in the process of sexual identification in her 1990 book, *Gender trouble*. Then, in a fit of graduate student masochism, I took a second theory course with Doug where we engaged Butler's 1997 book, *The psychic life of power* and work by the (slavishly) Lacanian theorist, Slavoj Žižek. It was in this moment that I realised I was really struggling (like I was lost) with Butler's ideas in *The psychic life of power*, and that I didn't have a clue about how to access Žižek, and therefore by extension, Jacques Lacan.

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[3] Which, if I have read Slavoj Žižek (1989) correctly, would be a case of meaning being retroactively assigned. It wasn't until I received feedback on my work that I believed it to be meaningful. The *point de capiton*, or quilting point of 'Judy as competent with psychoanalytic theory' could not be pinned back to my work until it had been received in the future.

I seem to be an 'applied' reader of social theory. Only when I have a certain project, a certain representational discourse laid out in front of me through which I can read the theory, do I feel like, or perhaps more appropriately, think that, I can understand some of the arcane minutiae of thinkers like Judith Butler. It was after piecing together much of the archival narrative that I have constructed about the Gay Games (which the following chapters lay out), that I then started to consider how I wanted to theorise this story. I am enough of a theory snob to know that I did not want to just do a descriptive, archival narrative (notwithstanding however much of the bulk of this dissertation has become that very thing about which I am a snob!). My intention all along has been for this dissertation to be a discourse analysis. How did the Gay Games come to be? What were the conditions of possibility? What was the 'how' of this phenomena?

In the spring of 2000 I started to go through my piles and piles of archival material in earnest. As I will describe in more detail, the first Gay Games in 1982 were meant to be called the Gay Olympics. But, the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) took the Gay Games to court and were successful in banning them from using the word 'Olympic'. The legal battle went on until 1987, when the US Supreme Court ruled against the Gay Games and for the USOC. The prohibition on the word 'Olympic' for the Gay Games intrigued me. I sifted out everything I could related to the court case, the Olympics, and how the Gay Games had become quietly 'Olympified' throughout their 20 years of existence. It seemed a very productive moment, foreclosing possibilities, and giving birth to the Gay Games themselves. I also discovered that the archival discourse about the Gay Games was absolutely rife with over the top invocations of gay pride. The individual and organisational investments in expressing lesbian and gay pride were almost overwhelming, and too insistent to ignore. Fortuitously, I had been reading a series of essays in Sally Munt's (1998) book, *butch/femme*, and came across her opening remarks:

> Coming out into the modern Lesbian and Gay Movement we have celebrated a rubric of pride. Outside, in this context, meant claiming a place in society. Inside carried the connotations of the closet, as a prison of shame. The lesbian inside/outside structure is characterised by this *affect* - the binary opposition of shame/pride. Pride is dependent on shame; pride is predicated on the - sometimes conscious - denial of its own ostracised corollary, shame. This explains the hegemony of pride in the post-Stonewall era, as a strategic deployment against the pathological homo. Cognisant of our outlaw status, we imposed a heterodoxical sense of pride. Its counterpoint of shame is no more (or less) real - it is not a deeper truth - but equally it is a consequence of social locution. I don't want to reinscript a 'cultural probity' of homosexual shame here, reinventing the iconography of victimization, and playing into the hands of homophobia. Pride remains strategically essential, but shame and its effects are powerful historical players, and cannot be rhetorically subsumed....I want to consider here how butch/femme, although commonly read as the proud and visible, public statement of lesbian desire, can also be marked by shame, can reinscribe shame (p. 4).

If one could read butch/femme through this shame/pride dynamic, surely, I thought, one could read the Gay Games in a similar way.

From reading the material on the Olympics court case, I finally really 'got' the concept of foreclosure as I read it through a prohibited Gay Olympics which were supplanted by a Gay Games. And, at long last, Althusser's notion of interpellation and his idea of the turn became clear to me as I recounted the failed hail of the Gay Olympics counsel at the Supreme Court. I had a project (an application) through which to read the theoretical concepts I had bandied about in the abstract. I was thrilled to have the light go on, as it were. But while these ideas of foreclosure, interpellation, and shame/pride dynamics were exciting, they seemed

disparate and disjointed. I felt compelled to do a more comprehensive, overarching reading, ignoring how seemingly anti-poststructuralist an impulse that was.

I was reminded of the processes of incorporation that Doug had introduced to me in 1999. I had vague remembrances of things being brought in and not being let go and unconscious allegiances being expressed in melancholia. I returned to my notes from his classes. "Psychoanalysis is interested in conception - of self and of ideas" - (and of events perhaps?). "For Lacan, everything comes back to the functioning of the cut, the loss of Imaginary wholeness" - (the severing of the word 'Olympic'? the loss of a Gay Olympiad?) "The necessity of forbidding that which is impossible" - (a Gay Olympics - forbidden while simultaneously impossible?) "Figure - a trope, a rhetorical figure which structures meaning" - (the figure of pride, shame, a Gay Olympics, Tom Waddell?) "Openness, as a strategy of reducing oppression, produces foreclosure, a more severe prohibition" - (Gay Games desire for total inclusion, an absolute impossibility?) (Aoki, 1999a). Against my better judgement, psychoanalytic theory was insistently haunting me.

In the summer of 2001, I picked up Butler's *Psychic life of power* again, and re-read the last three chapters of the book. And then I read it yet again, this time making copious notes in the margins as I worked through the Gay Games love/hate relationship with shame, gay pride, the Olympics and Tom Waddell. Butler's reworking of gender melancholia as a condition for the emergence of the subject seemed to apply to my reading of the emergence of the Gay Games. I could make sense of the constant appeals and testimonials about gay pride. I went out with my theory/drinking buddies and ran the nascent ideas by them. They thought it worked...but after a few beer with these women, just about anything can work!

I take great delight in shocking my feminist psychotherapist (and actually, some of my academic) friends by telling them that a large part of the theoretical read of my dissertation is based on Freud and psychoanalytic ideas. Yet, at times, I still believe I am taking too big a risk. I do not consider myself a psychoanalytic theorist, however, the new (to me) ideas were too enticing to walk away from. However, to preserve my own confidence and retain control of the project, I still maintain that this is, at the end of the day, a Foucaultian discourse analysis. As you read through the remainder of this treatise, frame the discussions of melancholia, incorporation, ego, mourning, Olympism, shame, etc. as part of the 'how' of the Gay Games. I am pushing my envelope just far enough to consider how the psychic informs the discursive within this cultural event.

One of the other main intentions for my dissertation project was to engage my analysis of the Gay Games and Cultural Events through queer theory. Inasmuch as queer theory has generally been used to read transgressive sexual and gender performances and discourse, I would suggest that my decision to tell the particular story about the Gay Games that I have would not immediately be amenable to a queer analysis. For the Gay Games that appear in my story are not particularly queer. They are openly and defiantly gay and lesbian, they are terribly corporatised, and assimilated. Except for all the homosexuals running around, it is about as 'straight' an event as you can find. Perhaps I exaggerate, but from a queer theory perspective, where the meaning of queer is to seriously interrogate regimes of the normal (Warner, 1993), or to turn back heteronormative regimes of sex and gender back onto themselves to expose and disrupt their constitutive elements (Butler, 1990, 1993), there's not much that's too queer about the Gay Games.

It might also be suggested that reading the Gay Games through any form of psychoanalytic theory could not be a queer move either since Freudians and their ilk haven't been especially friendly to homosexuals through the years. However, I am willing to give certain aspects of psychoanalytic theory a chance to prove their

usefulness for a queer agenda. Perhaps it is my own (over?)identification with Judith Butler and my blind trust that she will look out for the interests of the non-heterosexually identified, but I like her reading of gender melancholia that suggests if it is left unchecked it becomes susceptible to the suicide impulses of the death drive. It provides a place for me to consider speculatively how the Gay Games might be queered, in an attempt to ward off their death drive trajectory, undo the shackles of melancholic identification, and mourn the loss of Olympic. Or, to give Doug the last word - in psychoanalysis, "there is always a move toward death, where the subject generates life in its agency on its way to death - the Lacanian paradox" (Aoki, 1999b).

Section II: The discursive conditions of possibility

> In this way, a certain place for psychoanalysis is secured in that any mobilization against subjection will take subjection as its resource, and that attachment to an injurious interpellation will, by way of a necessarily alienated narcissism, become the condition under which resignifying that interpellation becomes possible. This will not be an unconscious outside of power, but rather something like the unconscious of power itself, in its traumatic and productive iterability (Butler, 1997, p.104).

In a recent article in *Body and Society*, Elspeth Probyn (2000) forays into the world of sport and considers how shame and pride might function within that enterprise, and particularly focuses on the Gay Games as a place where shame, pride and sport converge. In this section, I push Probyn's ideas about shame at the Gay Games in a different direction. The Games may be read as complicated processes of melancholic incorporation, where shame and pride are important parts of a particular dynamic which produces the fraught relationship between Olympism and the Gay Games. I use Judith Butler's argument about gender melancholia (1990, 1997) and rework that heuristic to consider how loss has operated in the discursive production of the Gay Games.

This section, which contain three parts, outlines the detailed history of the Gay Games battle to use the word 'Olympic' (the event was originally intended to be called the Gay Olympics) and Section III traces aspects of the event's subsequent development through the 1990s as an Olympic-style spectacle. I suggest that there is a productive tension for the Gay Games between rejecting all that is 'wrong' with the contemporary Olympic movement while reaping the benefits of modelling itself after the hegemonic athletic exhibition. The historical detail provides a stage for a reading of melancholic gay pride at the Gay Games:

> Melancholia describes a process by which an originally external object is lost, or an ideal is lost, and the refusal to break the attachment to such an object or ideal leads to the withdrawal of the object into the ego, the replacement of the object by the ego, and the setting up of an inner world in which a critical agency is split off from the ego and proceeds to take the ego as its object.... The accusations that the critical agency is said to level against the ego turn out to be very much like the accusations that the ego would have leveled against the object or the ideal. Thus, the ego absorbs both love and rage against the object (Butler, 1997, p. 179).

The Gay Games provisionally lost the right to use the word 'Olympic' in 1982. In fact, the Gay Olympics *per se* were foreclosed or preemptively prohibited, never coming into being, and in that foreclosure, the Gay Games were produced. In 1987, the Gay Games permanently lost the Olympic court battle and their founder, Tom Waddell, died. This double-barrelled loss, of an object and an ideal, were the conditions of possibility for the melancholic production of the Gay Games.

Incorporation, one of the processes involved in melancholia, occurs when the attachment to the lost object/ideal is not broken or let go, and that attachment is taken in by the ego to be psychically sustained (Butler, 1990). In the psychic preservation of the lost object/ideal, not only is the "love" for that object/ideal carried on, but a "critical agency" is also produced in the incorporative process which berates the ego. This love/hate dynamic has interesting organisational effects wherein the Gay Games simultaneously avow and disavow the international Olympics, and necessarily rely on gay pride discourses which are motivated by an unspeakable homophobic shame, voiced as relentless appeals for collective homosexual self esteem and self respect. In the final section of the dissertation, I ruminate upon the potential for the Gay Games to resolve their Olympic melancholia, considering the effects of a pervasive death drive embedded in the ideals of gay pride.

Certain sport theorists have touted the Gay Games and Cultural Events as a resistive alternative to the globalised "sport monoculture" of the Olympics (Donnelly, 1996). Other sport commentators have lauded the Gay Games as a lesbian and gay pride success story within a very homophobic athletic world (Cramer, 1996; Griffin, 1998; Krane & Romont, 1997; Krane & Waldron, 2000; Pronger, 1990a). I argue that in fact there is a complicated and fraught motivation within the facade of a proud and resistive sport movement which is held in place by an unmourned, shamed, and negated relationship to the international Olympic movement. This is also a story which is overdetermined and haunted by one man, Tom Waddell. Waddell, a former US Olympic athlete, was the architect and mastermind behind the production of the first Gay Games. His highly publicised fight with AIDS and the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) in the mid 1980s, his death and ultimate enshrinement as the Olympic martyr/saviour of the Gay Games, and his zeal and memory work phantasmatically in the legitimising logic of Gay Games discourse. The dialectical relationships between Tom Waddell, his death, homophobic shame, and juridical Olympic prohibitions underpin and motivate the production of a frenzied athletic event of urgent gay pride.

Part One - 'Papa Games'

Dr. Thomas Flubacher Waddell was the original driving force and obsessive organiser of the Gay Games. He literally single-handedly put together the first Games against massive odds (serious legal challenges, lack of financial support for an unproven cause, no experience in organising large events, a gay community reluctant to embrace the idea). Waddell consciously and unconsciously infused his personal history and values into the Gay Games. I will make the case that a history of the Gay Games and its relationship to the ideals of Olympism must take into account the life (and the solidifying death) of Tom Waddell. As many

commentators have noted, Tom Waddell had very strong opinions and convictions of which he did not let go, and he would not back down from political or ethical challenges (Coe, 1986; Waddell & Schaap, 1996 among others). Waddell's cultural capital is one crucial condition of possibility for the emergence and production of what is now a huge, successful, international athletic and cultural spectacle. In the section that follows, I highlight some of the important ways that Waddell was produced and produced himself as "Papa Games", a moniker bestowed upon him at the end of Gay Games II by the Board of Directors (Coe, 1986, p. 13).

In the fall of 1980, Tom Waddell was awarded the San Francisco Cable Car Award for Oustanding Athlete. In his acceptance speech to the gay and lesbian club, he suggested that the gay community of San Francisco host and organise a Gay Olympic Games in which gay and lesbian athletes could showcase their athletic prowess and not closet their sexual identities (Coe, 1986; Mandel, 1982). Already, Waddell, Mark Brown and Paul Mart had been meeting to create the event. Waddell leafletted Castro Street to attract other organisers for the Gay Olympics (McDell, 1989). For the next two years, Waddell devoted himself full time to making his challenge a reality. Gay Games I (the Gay Olympic Games until 10 days before the event) occurred between August 27 and September 5, 1982 in San Francisco. They attracted about 1300 athletes from 179 cities around the world who competed in 17 events (*Gay Athletic Games I*, 1982; Petersen & Kennedy, 1994). The event was consciously styled after the modern international Olympics, combining athletic and cultural events for an international competition. There were active outreach programs to attract 'minorities' such as women, people of colour and gays and lesbians from small town America as well as other countries. A trans-America torch run started in New York at the site of the Stonewall Inn, and was used to light the flame of the Gay Games during the Opening Ceremonies. To a large extent, Tom Waddell influenced and created many of these 'Olympic-style' touches for his event. His history and experiences

inform not only the emancipatory thrust of the Gay Games, but much of its conservatism as well.[1]

Two years before the inaugural Games, Waddell, the one time Olympic decathlete and successful medical doctor, had taken a leave of absence from his work as an overseas American physician, and was consciously wanting to focus his energies and talents in a new direction (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). He had spent the previous ten years exploring and wholeheartedly engaging in the emerging public gay subculture in San Francisco, experimenting with drugs, frequenting the baths, and enjoying the freedoms and pleasures of anonymous sex. He embraced his gay identity publicly in the mid 1970s. A photo of Waddell in long jump flight (a consummate 1970s crotch shot if there ever was one!) on the cover of *The Advocate* and a story written by Randy Shilts appeared in an issue focussing on gays in sport ("Sporting Life," 1976; Shilts, 1976). Later the same year, with his then lover, Charles Deaton, an edition of *People* magazine featured them as a saccharine-sweet twosome in the Couples Section, coming out on the national, mainstream stage (Faber, 1976). Coming out and fighting for gay rights was one of the last chapters in Waddell's political life. However, his sexuality was not always such an open book. Throughout his formal athletic career, Waddell managed his sexuality through masquerading as the "strictly straight man" in athletics, or the melancholic gay jock, in a twist on Judith Butler's melancholic

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[1] The majority of the biographical information I have used for this version of Tom Waddell's historical narrative comes from a book 'co-written' by Dick Schaap and Tom Waddell. Schaap is a syndicated columnist and broadcaster who met Waddell in December 1986 when he interviewed him for ABC's television program 20/20. Waddell spent the last few days of his life in July of 1987 giving his oral history to Schaap. The book, published almost 10 years posthumously, is a journalistic and romanticised account of Waddell's life, written by a straight media celebrity. Unfortunately, there is very little other historical information collated about Tom Waddell, and so the Waddell discourse is thus produced, with my witting and unwitting participation in it. The Tom Waddell papers reside in the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California Archives (GLHS), unprocessed at the time I was actively engaged in archival retrieval (February to October, 2000) and therefore unavailable for public perusal. Sara Lewinstein, mother of Waddell's child Jessica, later his wife, and an active Gay Games organiser, donated the material to GLHS instead of the San Francisco Public Library Archives (SFPL), where I was able to access unprocessed collections of other Gay Games materials. I have an open invitation from the head archivist at

construction (1997, p. 147). His full blown love for the Olympics emerged in and through that identity. As he became more politicised in his early twenties, his homosexuality (particularly its public expression) was sublimated[2] through his civil rights efforts in the 1960s. The ultimate success of the Gay Games has as much to do with Waddell's sexual identity as it does his salient relationships to athleticism, the Olympics, and a kind of liberal American progressivism.

Waddell's life in many ways reads like the stereotyped American dream come true. The tale starts in a typical fashion. Thomas Flubacher (later to rename himself Waddell) was born into white, immigrant poverty in 1937 in New Jersey. He was never close to his birth family, and although the family's economic fortunes improved, his parents divorced when Tom was in his teens. He adopted Gene and Hazel Waddell. These two former dancers and gymnasts nurtured in him a love not only for athletics and dance, but for the arts, culture and for one another as well. It is also during adolescence that Waddell's straight up performative cracks and he (necessarily) fails to fulfill the straight American dream. Throughout his teen years in the 1950s, Waddell became aware of his homosexual desires. After being overtly propositioned by an effeminate dancer at a ballet school tryout, he aggressively and carefully closeted his same-sex desires in a facade of masculine athleticism, good natured sociability, and McCarthy-era necessity (Messner, 1984; Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

Confident in his athletic ability, which he consciously cultivated to maintain an aggressively heteromasculine front, Waddell chose to pursue physical education at Springfield College (Messner, 1984). He was "a jock in a jock school" competing in football, track and field and gymnastics (Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p. 34). He decided to change his name to Waddell in college as well, partly as a symbolic

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GLHS to revisit San Francisco and process the 8 boxes of material (which I have learned is a HUGE amount of documentation in archival terms) any time I can get a grant to do so!!

[2] Sublimation here should not be considered as "a repression of sexual drives, but rather a redirection of libidinal energy towards a necessary adaptation to reality' (Appignanesi & Zarate, 1992, p. 144).

token of the 'civilising' influence the Waddell's had given and nurtured in him, and partly to fit in and assimilate. Flubacher was a 'funny' name which drew unwanted attention. While at Springfield, Waddell's best friend fell and broke his neck during a gymnastics team practice. His friend, a premed student, subsequently died. Waddell was inspired to change his major to medicine and went on to finish med school, clinging to and fulfilling just a bit more of that elusive American dream. The marginal working-class white guy emerged as a successful athlete and a professional, despite his conversion from Eisenhower Republican to quasi-leftist thanks to time spent working at "the Farm", which helped pay for his medical training (Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

In 1959, Waddell got a summer job at Camp To-Ho-Ne in Northern Massachusetts for well educated children of Jewish socialists and liberals. Tom was hired as the Gentile jock to teach the kids to flex their muscles. Two men ran the camp (loosely referred to as 'the Farm'), both of whom were gay and socialist. Tom Waddell fell in love with one of them, Enge Menaker, and they remained close until Enge's death in the early 1980s. It was Waddell's first exposure to leftist politics, discussion, and a sexual love affair. Waddell's conservative political outlook was given a good workout and challenge through the influential years he spent at the Farm, debating, philosophising and socialising. According to Waddell, the Farm, and particularly Enge Menaker, radicalised him (Moor, 1987).

Between 1960 and 1962, Waddell competed at the national level in American track and field. In 1962, he was successful enough to garner an "invitation from the Amateur Athletic Union and the U.S. State Department to tour Africa with a track and field team, under the auspices of President John F. Kennedy's cultural-exchange program" (Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p. 72). On his first athletic junket, Waddell and other (mostly black) American athletes competed against local stars and conducted seminars on track and field technique. He did several trips with the U.S. track team over the next few years to various 'Third World' countries,

teaching basic track and field technique and lecturing about health, fitness and hygiene. Despite considering himself a Marxist at this time (due to influences from time spent at the Farm), Waddell remembered thinking that perhaps the USA was not the worst country in the world. Even though he experienced examples of "ugly Americanism" - chauvinism, bigotry, and self-servitude, his radicalism was tempered (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Writing to Enge, Waddell suggested that the U.S. "has done some wonderful things here [in Africa]" (Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p.74).

The colonial proseltyzing Waddell learned to perform was organised and paid for by state organisations which intricately linked together to form the bureaucratic nexus which supports amateur athletics in the United States, ultimately represented by the USOC and its parent, the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Disiciplining other bodies into the 'joy and freedom' of sport, whether they were coloured bodies or poor bodies, was a value Waddell acquired early. These missionary-type impulses were carried on by Waddell as his Gay Games developed its own international outreach programs. The IOC's continuing practice of 'sponsoring' Committee members, teams or athletes from economically disadvantaged countries provided the mirror for the Gay Games outreach efforts (Lenskyj, 2000). In the Gay Games context, unlike the Olympics, queer bodies were explicitly added to the list of the kinds of bodies (coloured, female, and/or poor) that these kinds of outreach programs targetted. Waddell's attempts to recuperate sport and athletics for gays and lesbians through his alternatively structured Gay Games has produced a litany of testimonials about rekindled love for sport and physical activity. Armistead Maupin, the MC for the closing ceremonies of Gay Games I put it well. "As one who had a deep and abiding fear of recess, [I applaud] the fags of all nations, sissies and bull dykes and plain old garden variety queers" who made up the first Gay Games (White, 1982c, p. 1). The Gay Games still struggle with poor athletic representation by people of

colour, from non-Western countries, and on average women's participation falls well under the 50% goal. The outreach efforts continue apace.

Tom Waddell almost failed med school due to intense political activism. While he was disciplined into spreading the good news about athletics through the American team tours, he was also heavily involved in the black civil rights movement in the late sixties. He worked for the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors and ran a medical clinic for the Black Panthers. In the fall of 1965, just after receiving his MD degree and while he was interning, he volunteered his medical services in Alabama to provide medical services to local blacks and civil rights volunteers and to lecture on public health in towns throughout his region. Upon his return from one particular lecture, he was harassed and subsequently arrested, spending a night in jail for not acquiescing his views on racism to a local state trooper. This volunteer experience in the southern USA also made him hesitant about revolutionary political change (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). His liberal views of evolutionary change were once again resedimented here. If we agree that his civil rights work might be a sublimation of his homosexuality, that is, shifting his repressed passion for sexuality onto an overt racialised agenda, it also informed a careful, assimilationist sexual politics that would emerge in the future.

In 1966, Waddell was drafted for the Vietnam war and found himself in the army. He spent 2 years in relative ease and decadence as a Captain in doctor's basic training at the opulent (by basic training standards) Sam Houston Military complex in Texas and then to Walter Reed Military Hospital in Washington, DC. When it became apparent he was headed for active duty, he attempted to get conscientious objector status, enlisting the ACLU to represent him if he were court martialed. His initial attempt at objector status failed; however two subsequent factors were involved in his avoiding a Southeast Asia tour. The first of these were various sympathetic colleagues (many of whom were influential

white men) inside and outside the army advocating on his behalf to not have him sent into active duty. Second, the US military was eager to avoid another embarrassing lawsuit with an army physician. The army had lost a certain amount of public credibility during the so-called Levy case which had occurred just prior to Waddell's orders to go overseas. In the Levy case, it was argued that the army was forcing the medical profession to betray itself for crimes against humanity and the dissenting physician, Howard Levy, was court-martialed and tried, resulting in poor publicity for the army. With luck and good timing, Waddell was not sent into active service overseas. Even after this near court martial, Waddell continued to resist the war, both from within and outside of the army (Coe, 1986; Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

Early in 1968, Waddell applied for a transfer to the Army's track and field team. One friend suggested that since he was such an outspoken antiwar critic, the army shipped him off to train just to get rid of him (Waddell & Schaap, 1996)! In May 1968, he was transferred to California and began training full time for the Army's track and field team in preparation to qualify for the 1968 Olympics (who says the US Government doesn't publicly fund their amateur Olympic athletes!!). Given his age (he was 30 at the time), the Army had to petition the USOC to have Waddell even be allowed to try out for the team. For Waddell, it was a dream come true 'late in life' (for an athletic career) after just failing to qualify for the Olympic team in 1960. "Being in the Olympics was something I wanted to do my whole life" Waddell said in a 1976 interview (Shilts, 1976, p. 10). At his 'advanced age', Waddell surprised many and qualified as a decathlete for the one of the best track and field teams the United States ever fielded at an Olympic Games (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). In his words

> I was awed by anything Olympic. Totally, totally awed. To be on an Olympic team with people who were heroes to me, people I stood in awe of - suddenly, I'm their teammate. I was thirty years old, and I had to keep

> pinching myself and asking myself, *Is this real?* (Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p. 98).

This reverence and admiration for things Olympic would translate into the Gay Olympics which would haunt him until his death in 1987.

Within the context of the civil rights movement, the 1968 Olympics were a linchpin for the politicisation of sport. In fact, the Mexico City Olympics were almost cancelled. A student protest, which attracted thousands, questioned the transfer of $200 million dollars from the social services budget to city improvement projects to beautify the city before the Games started. Like many other government responses, the protest was quelled with institutionalised military violence and over 300 students were killed, 200 jailed and tortured, and thousands more arrested or beaten (Lenskyj, 2000). The US-backed Mexican government and North American media silence was able to keep the actual carnage from being widely reported - an Associated Press story gave the Mexican government's numbers of 30 dead and 200 arrested. However, the IOC was sufficiently concerned to call an emergency meeting and the motion to cancel the Games lost by only one vote (Guttmann, 1992; Lenskyj, 2000). Ironically, in Waddell's biography, Dick Schaap chronicles how Waddell met with student activists while he was in Mexico City for the Games, listened to their complaints about how Mexico could ill afford such a lavish sports spectacle, and visited the plaza where the massacre occurred. Schaap then quotes the conservative, and unlikely, death toll numbers.[3] Regardless of the American-supported, Mexican government's totalitarian actions, Waddell still marched proudly for the United States, suggesting that he felt like a fantasised-about rock and roll star. "I was an Olympian" (Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p.104).

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[3] In a similar conservative vein, it is interesting to note that most of what is attributed to Tom Waddell in the *Gay Olympian* is primarily taken from interviews he gave between 1981 and 1987 to various reporters from the *Bay Area Reporter*, one of the gay weekly newspapers in San Francisco in the 1980s. Never once does Schaap acknowledge *BAR* or a *BAR* reporter by quoting or referencing them as the source of information.

Somewhat contradictorily, Waddell was actively involved in supporting the American team's Black Caucus at the '68 Games (Coe, 1986). According to Schaap (1996), he would have been even more involved if he wasn't barred from the all-black organising meetings (headed up by sociologist and activist Harry Edwards) which planned what actions black athletes would take at the Games to protest racism in the United States. Waddell wrote press releases for the black athletes and supported their protest plans (Trefzger, 1982). "We all made a pact that if any of us won a medal, we would raise our hands in the Black Power salute in protest of racism, not only in the United States, but in the whole Olympic movement" (Waddell in Coe, 1986, p. 12). When the 200 metre runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos won gold and bronze medals respectively, they kept the pact. Each man stood on their part of the podium with heads down ignoring both American flag and anthem, and they raised black gloved fists (representing black unity and strength) and were shoeless on the podium (to symbolise black poverty). While Smith and Carlos were thrown off the U.S. team, shipped back to the States immediately and subjected to harassment, the white-bodied Waddell was quoted in the international press (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). His comment, "There is visible evidence of USOC prejudice against black athletes" earned him a court-martial threat, delivered just before his second day of decathlon competition (Coe, 1986, p. 10; Waddell & Schaap, 1996). The threat came from Colonel F. Don Miller, who was the Army's Olympic liaison. In the end, the court martial action never came to fruition (Trefzger, 1982). Waddell placed 6th in Mexico City, a result of which he remained proud for the rest of his life (Coe, 1986). After the Olympics, Waddell was discharged from the Army. Colonel F. Don Miller however, would get his own back from Tom Waddell in the 1980s as the USOC's executive director (Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

Ironically, Waddell was enlisted by the USOC to be a medical consultant after the Mexico City Olympics, a position from which Waddell proceeded to espouse a

variety of reforms, medically related or not (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). F. Don Miller was also an advisor to the USOC in this same time period, and he and Waddell often disagreed on the directions the organisation should take (Kelly, 1985b). In the 1970s, Waddell went to work for an American medical company where he was posted overseas, often in the Middle East. While working for wealthy oil barons in Saudi Arabia, he suggested that he start a youth sport agency. He was given huge sums of money with which to work, connected to senior government officials, and a year later the first Saudi Arabian Olympic team competed in the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics. Waddell attended these Olympic games as the Saudi team doctor (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). The next games in which Waddell was involved were supposed to be Olympic, but the Gay *Olympic* Games would be thwarted, emerging as the Gay Athletic Games.

Section II: The discursive conditions of possibility

Part Two - An Olympic struggle

"Everyone loves an Olympian. Tom Waddell was an Olympian" (Streicher, 1988, p. 6).

The Gay Games will always be preceded and exceeded by the lost Gay Olympic Games. The imaginary myth of a post-Stonewall gay Olympiad was produced and organised in various kitchens and living rooms throughout San Francisco between 1980 and 1982. Waddell originally sought to incorporate the group as the "Golden Gate Olympic Association". His request was denied by the California Department of Corporations because the word 'Olympic' could not appear in the title of the corporate organisation (*SFAA vs. USOC*, 1987). The group went ahead and organised under the name San Francisco Arts & Athletics, Incorporated (SFAA) as a California non-profit, public benefit corporation. However, the IRS (Internal Revenue Service) called even this status into question and the SFAA's ability to issue tax-deductible receipts was under moratorium for many months. Only the USOC, the Pan-American Games, and athletic events for children and youth were allowed to issue receipts and function as non-profit corporations that promoted international athletic competition. Until the SFAA's 501-(c)-3 status was conferred, they were treated as a for-profit organisation by the state. Until late 1983, the San Francisco Tavern Guild Foundation provided them a tax-deductible umbrella ("Gay Olympics gets", 1982). The Gay Games and the SFAA had to prove to the IRS, with legal assistance, that the main mandate of the organisation was educational and charitable in combating homophobic discrimination and prejudice against gays and lesbians, and not to promote international athletic competition ("IRS Reverses", 1984; Waddell, 1983). This was one of the first indications that Olympic athleticism was highly controlled (especially where money generation and fund raising were involved) and might be contested terrain.

Throughout the next year, organisation for the games proceeded. Local, national and international gay and lesbian sporting groups were contacted, events and venues arranged, and fundraising was started in earnest. A board of directors was created and the organisational structure for the event was chaotically put together as the planning proceeded. Waddell was elected President and Chair of the SFAA in the summer of 1981. Ad hoc committees got the nuts and bolts of athletic and cultural events cobbled together (Coe, 1986; Duncan, 1982). The Gay Olympic Games were getting their word out across the United States, effectively enough to catch the attention of official amateur sport organisations.

The story broke publicly in San Francisco on January 21, 1982 with a front page spread in the *Bay Area Reporter (BAR)*, the local lesbian and gay weekly paper[1]:

> Late last month F. Don Miller, Executive Director of the United States Olympic Committee, informed the Gay Olympic Games that the use of the word 'Olympic' with relationship to sports events (as well as various related activities and fundraising activities) is prohibited. Put another way -- Congress has voted that the USOC owns the word 'Olympic', also 'Olympiad' and 'Citius Altius Fortius' or any combination or simulation thereof. Anything that would cause confusion, cause mistake, deceive, or

[1] Much of the historical detail concerning the first three years of the Gay Olympics battle is taken from the pages of the *Bay Area Reporter*. Luckily (for the historian in me!), Mark Brown, the *BAR*'s sports editor and Gay Olympics organiser, gave Tom Waddell his own weekly column devoted to promoting and chronicling the organisation of the Gay Olympics. Almost all of the organisational documents and other archival materials for Gay Games I have been lost. Between the end of the second Gay Games in 1986, the creation of the Federation of the Gay Games in 1989, and Gay Games III and IV in 1990 and 1994, Gay Games archival materials lived in various garages and storage lockers. In 1991, Shawn Keliy took responsibility for renting a storage locker where most of the documents concerning the Games were kept. Various discussions and ideas were considered by the FGG as to who would be in charge of the archives and where they would be stored until the summer of 1994. As is the nature of small, non-profit, community groups, paying the rental fee for the storage locker fell through the cracks, Kelly apparently was not contacted and/or was not to be found in the summer of 1993 and Gay Games I and II materials were sold by the management of the storage company. Sara Lewinstein, who had stored the archive materials in her garage for many years in the mid-1980s, discovered it for sale in October, 1994 at a Marin County Flea Market! (Mitchell, 1994). Many of the documents ended up in a garbage disposal bin

> falsely suggest a connection with the Corporation or any Olympic activity are prohibited as well. "It has yet to be tested in court how many pages of the dictionary the USOC controls," said one Gay Olympic leader. Only those using the word prior to 1950, or those groups given dispensation by the Colorado Springs based corporation are not enjoined by the 1978 law. The committee is given the right to bring civil action against any group daring to infringe on their word monopoly. Miller also informed Waddell that his committee is entitled "to recover any and all funds which are solicited and acquired by virtue of the usage of Olympic terminology" (Lorch, 1982a, p.1).

The archival sources to which I have had access tell a contradictory story about who wrote who first, and copies of the original correspondence were not available to me. One narrative, (Coe, 1986; Nevius, 1988; Waddell & Schaap, 1996) tells the story that Waddell, having heard indirectly that groups using the word 'Olympic' must receive permission from the USOC, wrote to them in December 1981 to comply with the law. Other groups, Waddell learned, had been given tacit permission, having received a warning from the USOC , but had gone ahead and used the term without any problems ("Gays may not", 1982; Kulieke, 1984; Lorch, 1982c). The other narrative implies that Miller wrote Waddell a certified letter unsolicited (April, 1982; Lorch, 1982a; Primavera, 1982c; Shilts, 1982a) indicating that the SFAA through Waddell must respond within 10 days. Either way, in his letter (sometimes dated January 6, 1982, sometimes dated vaguely as December 1981), Waddell explained that his "group were only aware of the word 'Olympic' as a 'generic term referring to an event that pre-dated Christ'" (Lorch, 1982a, p.1). Furthermore, the Gay Olympic Games supported the goals of amateur athletics, would be a celebration of diversity and humanity where "Gay athletes [would] demonstrate their similarities as fully vested citizens", and the Gay Olympics would fully support the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles

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(Tim Wilson - SFPL Archivist, personal communication, February, 2000). What material is

(Waddell in Lorch, 1982a, p.1; Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Waddell requested the USOC grant the Gay Olympic Games permission to use the word 'Olympic'. Copies of the letter were sent to various city and state politicians (Coe, 1986; Schaap, 1996).

Miller responded in early January 1982, denying permission, reiterating USOC's monopoly on the word and clearly stating that the "USOC's position had *nothing* to do with the issue of homosexuality" (Miller in Lorch, 1982a, p.1, emphasis in the original). For the first time, Miller, on behalf of the USOC, took it upon himself to enforce the Amateur Sports Act of 1978. The intention of the act, Public Law 95-606, was to indirectly support and revitalise America's 'amateur' Olympic athletes without direct government sponsorship ("Olympic ideals", 1987). Prompted by their poor medal counts in the 1970s games, the US government undertook an extensive two-year presidential study of amateur Olympic sports. It was tasked to develop policy that would maintain the Cold War ideological stance that the "free" enterprise system was superior to the state-sponsored Eastern Bloc athletic system, and still financially facilitate the training and progress of American athletes (Herkenhoff, 1988). The product of this project was the Amateur Sports Act, in which Congress gave the USOC complete and unfettered control over corporate uses of anything Olympic (Lorch, 1982a; Nevius, 1988; "Top court hears", 1987), including any uses that might threaten potential donors from giving money (Siegel, 1994). Hence, the yoking of the despised Gay with the squeaky clean, beloved Olympic was just too much potential symbolic and financial loss for the USOC to handle. Besides, Miller had an old score to settle with Waddell.

The battle of words continued and heated up. Until January 26, the SFAA tentatively agreed to back down. For about a week, Waddell referred publicly to the event as the "Gay ------- Games" after the ACLU chapter of Southern

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available from Gay Games I at SFPL was in fact water stained and badly damaged.

California (an organisation for which Waddell volunteered (Waddell & Schaap, 1996)) declined to take on the cause. "Taking on the USOC would be much like taking on mom and apple pie. And even the ACLU didn't have the stomach for that kind of battle" (Waddell in Lorch, 1982a, p. 2). However, the SFAA Board of Directors met and consulted *pro bono* legal counsel (Mary Dunlap, an activist lesbian lawyer) and decided to not be so reticent. "Gay Olympics fights back" was the *BAR* front-page headline on January 28, 1982. In yet another letter to the USOC, Waddell suggested that both First Amendment guarantees of free speech and Fifth Amendment guarantees of equal protection under the law were violated in Miller's demand[2]. On this latter charge, Waddell wrote:

> There is a discriminatory action on the part of the USOC which has sanctioned the "Junior Olympics" and the "Special Olympics" but has looked the other way on the Armenian Olympics, the Xerox Olympics, the Crab-Cooking Olympics, the Diaper Olympics, the Rat Olympics, and the Dog Olympics, while at the same time takes exception to the term "Gay Olympic Games" (Lorch, 1982b, p.9).

Over the next five years, this litany of not sanctioned, yet sanctioned Olympic events was to become the most oft-quoted and popularly used lament to illustrate what gay activists believed would be apparent - that the USOC was a homophobic and nasty behemoth. Waddell expressed hope that the dispute could be resolved amicably but quickly dispelled any idea that the gay group might back down. The Gay Olympics would go to court if necessary. He demanded a response from Miller by February 1. They would continue to respect the moratorium until that

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[2] Six years later, in 1988, a different version of the events (and implicitly their meaning) of this time period appeared in a *San Francisco Chronicle* column. The revisionist history went like this. "State Senator Quentin Kopp has a copy of the letter Waddell sent to (F. Don) Miller. 'Waddell said he fully understood [that the USOC needed to use the word Olympic for its exclusive fundraising activities],' Kopp says, 'and that in the interim, since they had some T-shirts and so forth, they would just cross out the word 'Olympics'. At that point someone - there is still debate about whom - decided to fight the principle to the bitter end. Eight days after the first, cordial

time, however he noted that "this avoidance is causing our organization demonstrable injuries, including...an inability to distribute literature and other items" and a swift resolution to the problem was urgently required (Lorch, 1982b, p. 9; Primavera, 1982c).

Nothing was heard from Colorado Springs for another seven months. The SFAA resumed using the word 'Olympic' as it worked towards the ten day athletic festival set for August 28 to September 5. The Boston-based *Gay Community News* and the national gay newsmagazine *The Advocate* both covered the Olympic prohibition story in February and March of 1982 ("Gays may not", 1982; "Gay Olympics told", 1982). In that time, Waddell and various other gay community members took jabs at the USOC in various gay publications, most often in the *BAR*. Sometimes they encouraged the Gay Games to defy the USOC's demand:

> To hell with the u.s. olympic committee (they don't deserve capitalisation) and their demand that we don't use the word 'Olympic' to designate the Gay Olympic Games. The word comes from Olympia in pagan Greece where men loved men (Socrates) and women loved women (Sappho). It is OUR history, and it is not the property of rich, macho, arrogant, heterosexual men who try at every chance to dominate the rest of us with their boring, silly laws. As for it being illegal for us to use the name, well, who gives a shit. Our very existence as Lesbians and Gay men is illegal in wonderful America in approximately 30 states. Don't give us your crap about illegal. Take back our power. Defy the olympic committee (satya, 1982, p. 7).

Waddell commiserated with the Armenians being the butt of ethnic slur jokes, but envied them their "hands-off status with the USOC". He suggested that homosexuality had hit a new low, being ranked lesser than "rats and dogs and

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letter, Waddell fired off a 3-1/2 page legalistic- sounding treatise and the lawyers began to gather"

peepads and copy machines", and seriously questioned when "has a Gay event *ever* been confused with any other" (Waddell, 1982a, p. 25)? Counsel for the USOC at this time, Ronald Rowen, and for the SFAA, Mary Dunlap, exchanged correspondence concerning each of their clients' claims ("Gay Olympics told", 1982).

Gay donors to the USOC wrote protest letters to Miller, returning promotional magazines and merchandise, suggesting he "shove them up [his] ass" (Zoutte, 1982, p.1; see also Barnett, 1982). More than once, Waddell challenged the USOC to open up their financial books so that the vast extent of their money generating power could be compared to the miniscule effort of the Gay Olympics (Waddell, 1982a; Waddell, 1982d). Despite Miller's protestations that the "use of [the] word [Olympic] helps us raise money - it's our lifeblood. It makes our fund-raising extremely difficult when the Olympic marks lose their significance" (Shilts, 1982a, p. 2), Waddell hoped to suggest the obvious - that the USOC had a large corporate base to which his Gay Olympics posed no serious financial drain or threat. While the USOC had the legal right to sue the Gay Olympics, rights they "scrupulously protected" (Rowan in "Gay Olympics told", 1982, p. 10), the gay community told the story of being singled out unfairly and subjected unconstitutionally to petty, homophobic discrimination.

On August 9, 1982

> in a surprise eleventh hour move that threaten[ed] to turn the first Gay Olympic Games into the Gay "Bleep" Games, the International and US Olympic Committees obtained a federal court order... prohibiting the Gay Olympics people from using the word "Olympic" or "Olympiad" (April, 1982a, p.1).

(Nevius, 1988, p. D1).

The SFAA was informed at noon and the case came up in court three hours later. Mary Dunlap almost did not make it in time to represent them (Waddell, 1982f). The first, temporary restraining order was made permanent 11 days later, just one week before the games were supposed to start on August 28. In a veiled reference to his connection with F. Don Miller, Waddell indicated, "he knew some of the people on the Olympics committee and understood why they would wait until the last possible moment when they could hurt the most" (April, 1982a, p.1). Waddell continued:

> What is particularly irritating is the fact that they've known for at least 7 months that we've continued to use that term and they could have filed for an injunction early this year. However they chose, I think rather strategically, to inflict the maximum amount of damage on these games. Particularly when we've been achieving a great deal of positive reaction from people all over the world. I think it's a rather nasty bit of business that they are indulging in here (in Primavera, 1982c, p. 4).

Volunteers scrambled to literally scrape the offending word off the medals, change souvenirs and T-shirts, and destroy or black out posters and signs (April, 1982b; Coe, 1986; Peterson & Kennedy, 1994b). Until the changes could be made, button and t-shirt sales were suspended (White, 1982b). The event had to be referred to as the Gay Athletic Games or the Gay Bleep Games by the organisers. A note on the inside of the Official Program read:

> Due to the last minute court action taken by the U.S. Olympic Committee concerning the use of the word "Olympic", all references to that term had to be deleted from this program. The judge's decision on the permanent injunction had not been made by publication deadline. We apologize to the writers and advertisers whose articles and ads we had to change to comply

with the court's original temporary restraining order (*Gay Athletic Games I*, 1982, p. 2).

The only fundraising tactic left to the event was to sell tickets to the Opening and Closing Ceremonies. Estimates of the losses due to the last minute court order ranged between $15,000 and $30,000, a substantial sum for the fledgling organisation (Coe, 1986; Salter, 1982).

The resistance to the legal ban was swift and in some cases, clever. One *BAR* reader wrote a long poem belittling the USOC's monopoly on the word 'Olympic' (Barnes, 1982). The San Francisco Chronicle ran a cartoon entitled "100 Yard Dash" depicting a (presumably gay!) sprinter in the starting block position poised on the threshold of the inside of a closet, ready to burst out. The nameplate on the closet door reads Gay Olympic (crossed out) Games ("100 yard dash", 1982). San Francisco Sheriff Michael Hennessy competed in the concurrent (non-contested) Police Olympics in Texas and asked in an open letter to the USOC, "Am I to believe that the IOC will now go to court to 'protect' the IOC from cops?" ("Olympics P.S.", 1982, p. 2). There were many, many letters to the editor in both of San Francisco's gay and lesbian newspapers, the *BAR* and *The Sentinel* decrying and disparaging the USOC claim (among others see Ash, 1982; Sanders, 1982; Shields, 1982).

Nonetheless, the Games went on, very successfully. Politicians defiantly proclaimed the Gay Olympic Games open. Tina Turner performed for 45 minutes to wildly cheering fans.[3] People in the stands wept openly as over 1300 gay and

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[3] I think it is interesting to note that Tina Turner was just starting to perform on her own during the early 1980s after extricating herself from her abusive ex-husband and performing partner, Ike Turner. That she launched her solo career in a gay context is consonant with several other female singers who made their "big break" achieving popular acclaim and commercial success after working and playing gay bars and entertainment clubs. Performers such as Bette Midler, Tina Turner, Barbra Streisand, and Tori Amos are among some of the female stars that gay men in particular have supported in their formative years. However, it might also be noted that Turner never once addressed the event by its formal name while she performed in the Opening

lesbian athletes from many (claims vary between 13 and 19) different countries marched into the stadium. Various testimonials from fans talked about being in the closet or being out for the past 25 years and in either case, effused about how liberating being in the Gay Games Opening Ceremonies crowd was (April, 1982; Salter, 1982; Treimel, 1982). A Gay Olympics, cross-America torch run ended in Kezar Stadium, as two former U.S. Olympians, George Frenn and Susan McGrievey, lit the Gay Games flame. McGrievey, who would later work as co-counsel with Mary Dunlap on the Supreme Court Hearing for the Gay Olympics, wore her U.S. Olympic team sweatshirt during the opening ceremonies and was threatened with contempt of court (Dunlap, 1987b). Frenn and McGrievey "strode the length of the field, lit the Olympian disk, and balloons by the thousands set off to speckle the sky. Catharsis occurred" (Treimel, 1982, p. 4). Participation in the athletic and cultural events produced a plethora of gay pride stories for the next four years.

Waddell suggested that one of the reasons he wanted to use the word Olympic to describe his event was to highlight the serious athleticism involved. "We had a credibility factor to surmount, more than anything else. People looked up and said, 'Gay Games - well, uh...what does that mean? High-heel races?...[We had] to present ourselves in a way that's reasonable to the public at large" (Trefzger, 1982, p. 12). He added that those wanting to see a gay extravaganza would be disappointed ("Gay Games to begin", 1982). This was to be a legitimate sporting event with a large scope (Gildersleeve & Wardlaw, 1982). Promotional materials and articles highlighted the former Olympians who would be competing, world-class officiating for almost all events had been organised, and even though no

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Ceremonies. It appears she could not bring herself to utter the words "Gay Games" in performance (Treimel, 1982). And underscoring another interesting dynamic amongst female singers, were comments from Meg Christian, a purported 'Mother' of 'womyn's' music, who followed Turner and sang the Gay Games anthem. "I never in my whole life thought I'd have to follow Tina Turner" (Treimel, 1982, p. 4).

world records were set[4], results were officially recorded (Mandel, 1982; Primavera, 1982a). Tom Waddell had had a hand in almost every aspect of putting together the inaugural Games, and he pulled off an impressive event, under great stress. The Games ended with Waddell announcing that they would occur again in four years time (the Olympiad time period) in San Francisco while they organised an international body to move the Games out of San Francisco after 1986. They vowed to wage the court battle against the USOC.

Arguably, the USOC's last minute court action became a crucial condition of possibility for the continued and inevitable long-term success of the Gay Games. Among other things, the legal claim garnered them national and international media attention. *Sports Illustrated* ran a short, supportive piece on August 16, 1982. They noted that the USOC was in a bit of their own hot water at the time with the IOC concerning the USOC's unauthorised use of Olympic terminology. It "makes it slightly awkward for the USOC to be screaming foul about the Gay Olympics" (Coe, 1986, p.10). Similarly, the German weekly, *Der Spiegel,* sent a feature writer to cover the Games. "We thought this was important to cover. It really attracted our attention when the USOC asked them to drop the 'Olympics' from the name" (Kunkel in Salter, 1982, p. B1). Dick Schaap has suggested that if it had not been for the USOC's court challenge, the media might have completely ignored the first Games (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Waddell himself suggested "the USOC persecution drew our own community together and attracted mainstream press interest that we could never have bought" (McDell, 1989, p. 4). The USOC, in its juridical challenge, produced the conditions for an incitement to discourse that contributed to the entrenchment of a longer-term discursive

[4] In 1990, at Gay Games III in Vancouver, Californian Mike Mealiffe broke two world records in the butterfly swimming events in the Masters age group category. Because the Gay Games had received official sanctioning by the FINA, the International Swimming Federation, the record officially stood. The Federation of Gay Games and Vancouver organisers used this achievement to maximum promotional advantage.

formation[5] known as the Gay Games. The local and global attention the prohibition garnered helped to sediment the continuation of this gay pride event. Ironically, rather than quash it, the sporting venture was given a better chance by the USOC.

In the early 1980s, the Olympic movement worldwide needed a helping hand. Successive incidents of violence and political scandals including the Mexico City student uprising and massacre in 1968, the 1972 Munich terrorist attacks, the boycotts by the African nations in 1976, the US - headed boycott by most Western nations in 1980, and the subsequent USSR refusal to participate in 1984 consolidated a poor image of ideological and nationalistic skirmishes which had overdetermined the event. The IOC was nearly bankrupt due to financial mismanagement and gross overspending by recent host cities. The best case in point here is the 1976 Montreal Olympics and its stadium, which more than a quarter century later, is an unfinished safety hazard for which taxpayers are still paying and which may be demolished. The tarnished Olympic ideals (athletes flaunting their large endorsement contracts in the face of amateurism, ever increasing drug and performance enhancer use, hyper-competitiveness and charges of nepotism within the elite, European-controlled, IOC oligarchy) were not helping a movement already in crisis. After the 1980 Moscow Games, the Olympics were almost not held. Governments were wary to commit to the risk of probable huge public financial burden. Los Angeles was the only city to bid for the 1984 Games and took them on the grounds that rhetorically, at least, no public expenditures would be committed. That they then made a profit from a repackaged notion of 'Olympics as consumer goods' firmly indicated a new commercialised turn for the Olympic movement. The paragons of free enterprise,

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[5] A shorthand, working definition of discursive formation has been suggested by Sut Jhally (1996). He suggests that a discursive formation is created by analysing the stories, jokes, metaphors and anecdotes we tell and that are told about the object or event or idea in question. Stuart Hall (1997), in introducing Foucault's notion of a discursive formation, suggests that the concept is the crystallisation of what is produced and reproduced through the exercising of power within various legitimising discourse(s).

the United States and the USOC, led the way (Gruneau & Cantelon, 1988; Guttmann, 1992; Lenskyj, 2000). The commodification of Olympic has been the crucial financial saviour for the movement. The Gay Games got caught in this transition, both punitively and productively.

Tom Waddell fervently believed in the 'higher' ideals of Olympism[6] (often figured as education, equal opportunity, fair play, excellence, and international goodwill) and wanted his Gay Olympics to embody those virtues (Segrave, 1988). Waddell reworked the pursuit of excellence through athletics in an individualistic way to become the mainstay mantra of the most current Gay Games. "To do one's best is the ultimate goal of human achievement" (Waddell in Labrecque, 1994, p. i). The ideals of Olympism would transcend the petty squabbling of the 'real' Olympics and true athletic competition could thrive. As Rikki Streicher (1988), an SFAA board member for Gay Games II, suggested, "Sports are the great social equalizer. It is possibly the only time that it does not matter who you are but only how you play the game" (p. 6). The event was still Olympic enough to be recognisable. Athletes from around the world paraded behind city team signs in highly regulated uniforms (no corporate advertising, no Olympic logos) at highly choreographed opening and closing ceremonies ("Athletes package", 1982; Herkenhoff & Lewinstein, 1986). Athletic events were organised according to set rules and regulations with teams competing and crowds available for cheerleading. Medal ceremonies were ritual affairs. Waddell endeavoured to combine the allure of the Olympics with the beauty of sport in a vibrant gay community.

At times, Waddell's commitment to the purity and transcendence of athletic performance almost blinded him to larger political issues. Early in the fundraising

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[6] Or more cynically, one might quote Vyv Simson and Andrew Jennings (1992) from *The Lords of the Rings*. "So what does Samaranch's Olympic movement stand for as it approaches the twenty-first century?...[His] oratory follows a depressingly familiar pattern. First comes the evocation of the name de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympics. Then follows a list of nebulous Olympic slogans; 'Olympism is essentially an educational movement'; 'sport combined with

drive for the first Gay Olympics, Waddell's preoccupation with athleticism created an almost disastrous public relations bind. He had arranged for a screening of Leni Riefenstahl's classic and controversial film, *Olympia*, to be held in March 1982 at the Castro Theatre in San Francisco. Tickets sales would be donated to the Gay Olympics, and a discussion would be held after the show. The film documents the 1936 Berlin Olympics. As Waddell explained:

> I chose to show the movie not for its minimal political content, but because it is a paean to the human body and to sports. Riefenstahl caught in her movie the athletes' will as well as their strength. The film focuses on the athletes and the sporting contests, demonstrating the beauty and positive nature of sport. It is in this spirit, the ideal of sport, in which the Gay Olympic Games of 1982 invite you to view the ineffable beauties of Olympic endeavour, Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia* (Karr & Mandell, 1982, p. 17).

While pioneering and revolutionising sport film as art, the piece was also commissioned by Hitler and used for Nazi propaganda purposes:

> It may seem like a strange choice for kicking off an Olympics for people that the Nazis persecuted. BUT! This was the very first Olympic movie ever made, and it is still the best! Whether you agree or not with the slant of the message (and I doubt you will), you will nevertheless see a cinematic piece of history by an artistic genius. It was a peculiar and dangerous time for the world; the movie shows what sport can be and even more important SHOULDN'T be (Waddell, 1982b, p. 25).

The howls of protest were fast and furious. The recently formed Lesbian and Gay Jewish Activist League denounced the idea and leafleted Castro Street, urging

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culture'; 'acting to promote peace'; 'unity is our only strength'; 'bringing people together in peace

people not to attend (Shilts, 1982b). Critics were appalled that a gay event was willing to make money off of a Nazi propaganda piece, while others suggested Waddell was obsessed with a pornographic, fascist male body ideal (White, 1982a; Offen, 1982). Supporters cried censorship, that they were being denied the opportunity to see a classic film, and wanted to know who was going to replace the lost revenues (Birch, 1982; edwards, 1982). The Riefenstahl film lived up to its notorious reputation as the SFAA Board of Directors made the decision to cancel the screening after Waddell received violent threats, and rumours circulated that he had been active in the Nazi party. Even in backing down, Waddell said, "I feel like I'm yielding to the same kind of censorship the Nazis themselves practised" (in Shilts, 1982b). This collision of identity politics and liberal freedoms exposes the cracks in Waddell's philosophical rhetoric concerning what he wanted the Games to do and how he could not grapple with the difficult political implications of deep, historical legacies of trauma.

However, the whole *Olympia* affair was pervaded by the triumph of capital. That the Gay Olympics would have made money on the event, rather than it being purely an 'educational' forum about the issues (as if the two must be necessarily separate, implying that money taints purity and/or edification), formed the basis of the Jewish lesbian and gay community's objections (White, 1982a). On the other hand, the slippery conflation of freedom of expression with freedom to make money (at all costs?) is enacted by the critics of censorship who lobbed the "who's going to make up the financial difference?" argument at the minority protesters. The echoes of the USOC's claim against the Gay Olympics here are eerie: a small minority group crying foul against a larger organisation. While Waddell and the SFAA yielded to their critics, (importantly unlike the USOC), it is not without the liberal capitalist arguments being in the foreground. Structural inequities in power and history were not the motivating factors, instead, maintaining good public relations in the interests of finance held sway.

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for the benefit of mankind'. The speaker and his speeches run on auto pilot." (p. 234).

Waddell finally mediated the Riefenstahl affair by waxing eloquent about his ideas of community in one of his weekly *BAR* columns (Waddell, 1982c). His liberal philosophising was to push the Olympic ideal to embrace inclusion, even amongst differences. Gays and lesbians had historically been excluded from athletic events, or at least from being fully who they were in athletic contexts. His Games would not only include lesbians and gays, but everyone, actively suggesting that they would and should combat racism, sexism, and ageism. Waddell rhetorically used the language of educative Olympism by suggesting that people within the Gay Games movement, most of whom were implicitly lesbian and gay, were the holistic teachers of the 1980s (Coe, 1986; Waddell, 1986).

In fact, as the USOC battle dragged on, Waddell implicitly suggested that the Gay Games transcended the Olympics. "Let's look at the Olympics. The Olympics are racist, the Olympics are exclusive, they're nationalistic, they pit one group of people against another, and [they are] only for the very best athletes. That doesn't describe our Games" (Waddell in Coe, 1986, p. 13). Stressing that anyone who wanted to could become a member of the Gay Games community is consistent with Waddell's American liberal rights ethos, and as a powerful, wealthy, white gay man that philosophy had yet to let him down. Tom Waddell was an easy mentor to follow - articulate, good looking, intelligent and progressive, but not too radical. He was just what an emerging liberal, assimilationist gay and lesbian movement needed. He was a gay American Dream come true, demonstrating that a faggot could triumph in the mainstream. Charismatic and persuasive, "he was a spiritual leader for thousands of athletes who joined together to share in his dream" (Coe, 1986, p. 13).

While Waddell and his Gay Games followers were converting the masses to this more enlightened, progressive 'gay' Olympism, they were also capitalising on the powerful draw the International Olympics generate:

> There is no other event to match the drama, spectacle, and pageantry of the games or the moments of elation when the world unites to cheer on the victorious Olympians.... Images from the games remains etched in our collective memories. We carry the dramatic moments with us as intimate aspects of our own experience (Schaffer and Smith, 2000, p. 2-3).

Gay Games I and II provided many poignant, metaphorical gay empowerment moments that relentless personal testimonial confessions reiterate over and over again in Gay Games literature. The Opening and Closing Ceremonies contributed to the pageantry, pride and affirmation of a beleaguered gay community. Depending on which 'we' is inhabited, a whole host of stories from the Gay Games produced the "dramatic moments [that comprise the] intimate aspects of a (lesbigay) experience". Victorious Gay Games swimmers leapt out of the pool to cheer on those who had yet to finish (Coe, 1986). A track athlete, who had already medalled, gave up his spot on a relay team that was certain to win to a friend who hadn't received a medal and likely wouldn't have (Snyder, 1982). In tears, Waddell presented a 44 year-old lesbian grandmother with a gold medal after she won her first ever athletic competition in front of her children (Chui, 1982; Waddell & Schaap, 1996). The stories of this unique event continued to grow and were used often and repeatedly to offset how different the Gay Games were from the real Olympics.

However, as the Gay Games have continued to expand, the elements of mainstream Olympic productions have further crystallised into bigger budgets, splashier shows and more and more athletes and spectators. As Helen Lenskyj (2000) argues, "the Olympic Games are the great Circus Maximus of planet Earth" (p. ix). The Gay Games right from the start have had the elements of the original circus to which Lenskyj refers - a serious, highly organised sporting competition, a concurrent cultural event, and something of a party atmosphere (*Gay Athletic*

Games I, 1982). Any good gay boy worth his salt wouldn't want to miss a good circus/party, and if they can't be part of the mainstream one, they'll emulate their own!!

The USOC was not about to let the gay boys and lesbians connect their circus/party to anything Olympic, however. In February 1984, a U.S. District Court Judge granted the USOC a permanent injunction in a summary judgement against the Gay Games, meaning that the USOC "avoid[ed] a trial and a public airing of the issues in the case" (Artman, 1984, p.1). Later the same year in September, the USOC was awarded $96,600 in attorney's fees to be paid by the SFAA and Tom Waddell. A lien was placed on Tom Waddell's San Francisco home (Kulieke, 1982). The SFAA continued to appeal the original 1982 injunction to higher court levels. Waddell mortgaged his historic Albion Street home in the Mission District of San Francisco to help pay for the legal costs in the battle ("Tom Waddell dead", 1987; White, 1987). In April 1985, the courts ordered a stay of judgement, remanding the issue of excessively high attorneys' fees to a lower court for reconsideration. This also meant that no further assets of SFAA or its directors could be seized. Gay Games II could be held with no threat of interference from the USOC ("Law suit", 1986; "Olympic suit", 1986). Student groups protested at Stanford, leafleting an international soccer match (Stroll, 1984). Shawn Kelly, the Gay Games II Executive Director, sent out dense press releases; desperately explaining the complicated legal wrangles (Kelly, 1985a; Kelly, 1985b).

Various opinions have been rendered as to why the USOC insisted on pursuing this case as far as they did. The USOC maintained throughout the five-year battle that it was purely an economic imperative to protect their fundraising 'lifeblood'[7].

[7] It is interesting to reflect upon the USOC's use of the word lifeblood when referring to the precious (literally) fundraising nature of their word Olympic. It is invoked regularly throughout the history of the court challenge, both by F. Don Miller and by Ronald Rowan and Vaughn Walker, attorneys for the USOC. There is an interesting literature which yokes homosexuality and the vampire (for example see Case, 1991). The invocation of 'lifeblood' belonging to the USOC and

As Gay Games organisers pointed out repeatedly, never before had the USOC gone after other athletic groups for use of the term Olympic ("Attorney's Fees", 1985). From the beginning Tom Waddell maintained it was homophobia. During the first court hearing on August 9, 1982, USOC lawyers "stated they [saw] the term gay in front of that word (Olympics) as in some way demeaning it." As Waddell said, "If that isn't prejudicial, I'd like to have someone describe to me what prejudice means" (Primavera, 1982c, p. 4). Or as F. Don Miller, USOC's Executive Director maintained, "The use of the word 'Olympic' to describe the lesbian and gay male sports event 'would dilute the meaning and significance' of the international Olympics" ("Gays may not", 1982, p. 2). Rarely, and only in the mildest and most careful of terms, is the motivation considered to be Miller's vendetta against Waddell. By 1984, Mary Dunlap had added megalomania to the list of USOC motivations (p. 5). Writing in the same year, Michael Messner naively suggested that the Gay Games and Waddell's vision were a "radical break from the traditional notion of the role of sports in society" and that this vision was responsible for the USOC's court challenge (p. 23). Whatever the USOC's reasons, the effects of their prohibitive actions remain productively fascinating.

By 1984, the USOC was going after several other groups, non-profit and commercial alike, to rein in the use of the word 'Olympic'. At that time, the Paralympics had to be content with being the World Wheelchair Games[8]. The Special Olympics survived because of the Kennedy family legacy (Waddell &

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the inference of a queer, invisible, living-dead Gay Games vampire sucking this precious vital fluid of life that rightfully belonged to the 'good and pure' Olympics effectively reinscribed the homophobic trope in the popular imaginary.

[8] However, at the turn of the 21st century, the Paralympics have now been welcomed into the International Olympic family with open arms. In an attempt to improve the relationship between the two organisations, the President of the IPA (International Paralympic Association) is now a full member of the International Olympic Committee, sitting on some powerful key subcommittees. In 1998, the US Congress amended the Amateur Sports Act to allow the US National Paralympic Association to be exempted from its commercial prohibitions. The Gay Games can only fantasise about such formal recognition from the IOC or the USOC (Amateur Sports Act, 1978; *International Olympic Committee*, 2001; *International Paralympic Committee*, 2001; Mumby, 1996). The normalising impulses of formal, international sporting organisations to discipline abject bodies (i.e. queer and/or disabled) for mainstream consumption remains a largely unexplored and untheorised area, and outside the bounds of this project unfortunately.

Schaap, 1996). The USOC allowed the word 'Olympic' to be used by the physically challenged because, under the Amateur Sports Act, the committee had to "develop programs and participate in the development of programs for the handicapped" ("Gays may not", 1982, p. 2). Waddell mused in a 1984 interview that the

> courts are just knuckling under because of the power of the USOC. I mean, we're fighting corporate America here - a lot of special interest groups are involved in this. I'm sure the Coca-Cola company says to the USOC: "Hey! We're sponsoring the Olympics! We don't want gay out there! (Messner, p. 23)

This is the first indication of the implication that state and judicial agencies had been corporately infiltrated. The SFAA was battling the USOC's attorneys' fees claim at the time of the interview. The Los Angeles Olympics were poised to announce their profit of $215 million from the Summer Games. Prior to this interview, the rhetoric around the court battle focussed primarily on its homophobic impulses, and connections between corporate elites had not been made so explicitly.

The Gay Games themselves were undergoing their own corporate rationalisation process. Unlike the first Games, which had been a kitchen-table organisation cobbled together and headed up by Tom Waddell, Gay Games II was a much more community-planned event (Pronger, 1990a). For health reasons, Waddell, who was now battling AIDS, was forced to delegate authority to various committees and individuals. The board hired a full time Executive Director, all sporting events used U.S. national or international rules and regulations, and the "Procession of the Arts" was more formally organised and integrated into the overall event. Discussions were held about which events should charge admission and for how much. Corporate fundraising techniques were put into place and a

Communications Committee headed up all media relations. The group persevered despite having the Court of Appeals rule against them yet again in January of 1986. Just before the opening of Gay Games II, Mary Dunlap and the SFAA announced they were appealing to the Supreme Court, based on the fact that conservative judges have traditionally carefully guarded First Amendment rights, and that there were three dissenting opinions in the Court of Appeals judgement which supported the Gay Games right to use the word 'Olympic' ("Law suit"; 1986; Murphy, 1986). Gay Games II was held August 9 - 17, 1986 with approximately double the participants (+/-3700) and double the budget (+/- $780,000). Waddell had just been released from hospital with pneumonia and had developed full blown AIDS. He won the javelin competition. The event was considered a raving success yet again (Coe, 1986).

In the fall of 1986, the Supreme Court announced that it would review the entire case. The SFAA board committed funds to the legal battle and the ACLU agreed to defray 50% of their printing costs and Dunlap's out of pocket expenses (SFAA Board, 1986e). Mary Dunlap, their fiery and, at times, polemic lawyer prepared her case thoroughly. She and other attorneys working with her, all donated thousands of hours *pro bono* to the cause. Dunlap was intrigued, and pleasantly surprised after all their legal losses, as to why the Supreme Court had agreed to hear the case. Optimistically, she mused that it "might be an attempt to mitigate the unbound harm" of the recent *Bowers v. Hardwick* case which put into question the basic constitutional rights of all gays and lesbians in the United States[9].

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[9] The Bowers v. Hardwick case was a historic US Supreme Court decision that was brought down in June, 1986 which announced that "the constitutional right to privacy did not extend to private consensual homosexual sodomy" (Cain, 2000, p. 178). In 1982, Michael Hardwick was arrested in his own home for performing oral sex in his bedroom. The arresting police officer had been admitted to the house with a warrant on another matter. Acts of oral sex contravened Georgia's criminal sodomy laws, which defined sodomy as acts of sex which involved "the sex organs of one person and the mouth or anus of another" (Cain, 2000, p.181). Even though charges were subsequently dropped, Hardwick took the case to Federal Court claiming the statute was unconstitutional and that his rights to privacy were infringed upon. He won at that level. The case then went to the Supreme Court at the request of the Attorney General of Georgia, Michael Bowers. The main legal arguments surrounded the constitutionality of the right to engage in consensual private homosexual sodomy and the right to privacy at home and in matters of intimate

Conversely, she was also terrified. "I was frightened that the *Hardwick* majority's heterosexism/homophobia would be a monolith" (Dunlap, 1987b, p. 2).

It was agreed at a SFAA board meeting that Mary would argue the case wearing a skirt and makeup (SFAA Board, 1986e). Dunlap herself commented extensively on what she wore to argue the case in front of the Supreme Court - "my 2 inch blue high heels and new light wool blue Pendleton suit and gold chain" (Dunlap, 1987b, p.1). It seems odd, and not unproblematic, that Mary Dunlap's white, lesbian lawyer body has never been discussed as a potential (and one would think) probable contributing factor to the SFAA's Supreme Court loss. Dunlap discursively embodied the loud, angry white lesbian feminist identity of the late 1980s. That there was a conscious strategy to conventionally "feminise" her appearance to the heteromasculine gaze of Supreme Court justices begs the question of what role her gender and lesbian sexuality played in the final decision. While praising the justices for their respect and intelligent questions, she also noted that "Chief Justice Rehnquist gave the impression he felt Dunlap didn't give him his due either as a Justice or as a man" (Dunlap, 1987b, p.2). As the delegitimated lesbian, the spectre that haunts white straight males of which the closest emulation might be Supreme Court judges, Dunlap had the impossible task of convincing them of her and her client's, juridical legitimacy. The case was heard on March 24, 1987. The whole hearing was given thirty minutes, in which Dunlap argued the SFAA's position. She thought it went well, but as an observer in the court, a sick Waddell was not so convinced. In late June 1987, the Supreme Court delivered its 7-2 (5-4 on the Fifth Amendment/state action claim) decision in favour of the USOC in all aspects of the case.

In 1994, Paul Siegel published a piece of legal analysis surrounding the Supreme Court decision in *San Francisco Arts and Athletics vs. United States Olympic Committee* which neatly summarises the main legal arguments. Siegel identifies

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choice. The State of Georgia won and homosexual persons were not guaranteed privacy rights

three principal issues in the case. The first is whether or not the SFAA engaged in trademark infringement by purposefully trying to deceive or confuse by using the Olympic title. As a matter of statutory construction, this issue was confused by the absence of a comma (of all things!) within the wording of the Amateur Sports Act of 1978. What exactly the phrase "tending to cause confusion" modified became the contested issue, and would determine whether the USOC could sue for just using the word 'Olympic' and not have to prove intent or have the tendency to confuse or deceive. All three levels of courts that the case went through ruled against SFAA and concluded, for differing reasons, that there was a tendency to confuse by using the words Gay and Olympics together.

The second issue involved issues of freedom of speech. Mary Dunlap, as counsel for SFAA, argued that the USOC's exclusive claim to the word 'Olympic' infringed on her clients' First Amendment rights to free speech. The inherent conflict between trademark protection and freedom of speech played out in two specific ways in this case. The first argument considered that if the intent of Congress was to give the USOC monopoly over the promotional use of the word 'Olympic', the legislation itself would be unconstitutional. In a dissenting opinion from the Court of Appeals decision, three judges argued that

> to say the word 'Olympic' is property begs the question. What appellants challenge is the power of Congress to privatise the word Olympic, rendering it unutterable by anyone else in connection with any product or public event, whether for profit or, as in this case, to promote a cause.... If Congress has the power to grant a crown monopoly in the word Olympic, one wonders how many other words or concepts can be similarly enclosed, and the extent to which our public discourse can thereby be impoverished (Kozinski, Pregerson, and Norris in Siegel, 1994, p.34).

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under the US Constitution (Cain, 2000).

The majority opinion of the Supreme Court however avoided the question of whether Congress *could* bestow monopoly status upon certain words and maintained that USOC had created the meaning surrounding the word 'Olympic' over many years with much hard work and expense. It was therefore accorded what trademark lawyers call secondary meaning, which meant that the corporation [USOC] could claim protection for its uses of the term. Justice Powell, in writing for the majority, did not engage the crucial question of whether the initial granting of trademark protection for the word 'Olympic' was itself constitutional, or in other words, "that Congress had no right to privatise an ordinary dictionary word such as Olympic" (Siegel, 1994, p. 37). In effect, corporate hegemony held sway in this decision.

The second aspect of the first amendment argument considered that, even if Congress could have the right to privatise regular words, it would be arguably unconstitutional when that application was for a political cause as opposed to commercial gain (which is what trademark law protects). Again the dissenting opinion of the appellate clearly articulated the issue:

> The word Olympic was no doubt chosen to foster a wholesome, normal image of homosexuals. Denying the SFAA use of the word thwarts that purpose. To say that the SFAA could have named its event "The Best and Most Accomplished Amateur Gay Athletes Competition" no more answers the first amendment concerns here than to suggest that Robert Paul Cohen could have worn a jacket saying "I Strongly Resent the Draft" [instead of "Fuck the Draft"] (Kozinski, Pregerson, and Norris in Siegel, 1994, p. 38).

Counsel for the USOC argued, and the majority of justices agreed, "'Gay Olympics' did not constitute protected political speech, but a purely commercial enterprise" (Siegel, 1994, p. 38). Siegel points out two ironies within this judgement. For the SFAA to make its political point effectively (no matter how

hard Tom Waddell asserted that they were not political games!), they had to closely align themselves to the modern Olympics to conjure up the "original" in their satire. That gays and lesbians are excellent athletes, worthy of Olympic comparison, only served to cause the very confusion or deception, which worked as the argument against the SFAA. While the USOC refused to acknowledge any homophobic intent in bringing suit against the SFAA, they did acknowledge that if there had been discriminatory action, it could be justified under trademark law as a "response to the feared antipathy on the part of others (including potential donors)" (Siegel, 1994, p.39). In the end, the ruling gave no substantial direction for first amendment challenges to trademark restrictions, except to subsume free speech to the interests of property claims.

The third and final issue raised in the SFAA vs. USOC case was whether or not USOC acted as a state agent and therefore could be held responsible for discriminatory action, in this particular case, based on sexual orientation. SFAA had to make the case that the USOC was a government agency, and only then could they make an argument around selective enforcement of litigating against the Gay Olympics and not other special interest sporting events such as the Police Olympics. This was the argument that was referred to as violating the Fifth Amendment of the American Constitution. Even though the Appeals Court dissenting opinion argued that USOC was inextricably wound up with US government agencies, the majority opinion disagreed and therefore the high court did not even consider, let alone rule on whether USOC acted illegally in an antigay, discriminatory manner.

In the end, the majority opinion of the Supreme Court produced very conservative decisions, not just ideologically, but legalistically as well. The court reinscribed a corporate status quo for the USOC, both as an organisation and in its privatised function. Within a legal context, there were no new or important renderings of

trademark law, free speech or equal protection and contentious questions of constitutional jurisdiction were neatly avoided (Siegel, 1994).

Siegel suggests that the majority opinion in the end did little for the gay rights cause, not because SFAA lost the case, but because in his deliberations, Justice Powell avoided dealing with the crucial issues of whether discriminatory action took place. Unlike the *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision, this was not a case that galvanised the gay community and neither were gays' constitutional rights put in jeopardy. I wonder if the decidedly forgettable nature of the *SFAA v. USOC* case was that it was not about sex. *Bowers* was undeniably about sex, and particularly sodomy, the most explicit form of transgression within a heteropatriarchal culture. The Gay Games case was about a word ('Olympic'), which had become an overdetermined ideal, and a pejorative adjective (gay) being applied. The court maintained the status quo, without threatening the basic human rights of gay people in the same dramatic way that *Bowers* did. And in fact, the Gay Olympics case has had almost no lasting legacy in gay politics or gay legal issues in the last 15 years whereas the ripple effects of the *Bowers* decision have been huge (Cain, 2000). Very unlike the *Bowers v. Hardwick* case, the threat of forbidden homoerotic sex or strange, nasty orifices never hovered in this case. Commercial trademark issues were the invested ideals in *SFAA v USOC*, and gayness became an abstract lifestyle/political rights issue, which was easily papered over. In some ways it is no surprise that the contentious discrimination issues were sidestepped under the guise of the free market and fair capitalism in which gay culture and community were and are fully implicated. After the production of a moral panic/gay resistance frenzy with the *Bowers* decision just months previously, the Justices could have believably been invested in making this 'gay' case bland and easily forgotten. The Supreme Court didn't need to foreground shameful sex in this case. By prohibiting the Gay Olympics, they got the same shaming work done with much less fuss.

While the arguments of the Supreme Court case were all carefully circumscribed within constrained legal parameters, the same complex issues were discussed in different ways in the pages of the *Bay Area Reporter* by members of the gay community over the five years in which the court battle was waged. The anger and frustration was palpable, and publicised and politicised the local community in the Bay Area. The final legal decision in Washington about the ban on the word 'Olympic' and then Tom Waddell's death from AIDS-related illness three weeks later, produced an angry grief in the community which got focussed through two interesting protest activities in 1987 and 1988 - one against VISA and one against a San Francisco/Bay Area bid for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games. An argument might be made that through these protests, the gay community tried to mourn Tom Waddell and the Gay Olympics.

Section II: The discursive conditions of possibility

Part Three - Trying to Mourn Tom Waddell and the Gay Olympics: A Community Response

The Gay Games organisation suffered many losses in its first five years. The first of these was the court order denying them the use of the word 'Olympic' in 1982 and they culminated in the negative Supreme Court decision, and the death of Tom Waddell. In grief, the Gay Games and members of the gay community who identified with the Gay Games cause, did many things to remember Waddell and made attempts to vindicate their Olympic loss. According to Freud, when one loses an object (such as a beloved person) or an ideal, the experience of loss is either mourned or not. When one mourns a lost object or ideal, s/he severs their psychic attachment to it, s/he acknowledges the loss, and s/he comes to symbolise the lost object and move their libidinal attachments onto new objects or ideals. They are able to let the person/object/ideal go (Butler, 1990, 1997; Gay, 1989).

At Tom Waddell's public memorial, a health department official described the tribute as a "sense of completion" and Mary Dunlap added, "His pain is now gone. His pain is now ours" (White, 1987b, p. 13). The former statement gestured towards the processes of mourning, while Dunlap's latter comment heralded a melancholic turn. In his piece "Mourning and Melancholia", Freud made a distinction between mourning and melancholia. Mourning is a grief process in which to properly resolve a loss, there must be a breaking of the attachment to that object. "Separation is recognized and the libido attached to the original object is successfully displaced onto a new substitute object" (Butler, 1990, p.84). This process is called introjection, and if it is to be successful, "the capacity to symbolize experience needs to be developed as a way of coping with separation and loss. For it is only via the representation of the object in its absence that the symbol can come to replace the loss as a memory" (Diamond, 1992, p. 177). In the months following the Supreme Court decision and Waddell's death, there were

three events that could be considered attempts by the gay community to bring closure to its crucial losses. These are grieving Tom Waddell, protesting against a Visa fundraising program for the USOC, and thwarting a San Francisco bid for the 1996 Summer Olympics.

Remembering Tom

On July 11, 1987, Dr. Thomas Flubacher Waddell died at home from AIDS-related complications. He had voluntarily removed himself from all pain medication 36 hours prior to his death. Saying, "This should be interesting", he never spoke again, and slipped into his final coma. He was surrounded by family and friends who had supported the dying hero in his last weeks (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Waddell had been showcased extensively in the last year of his life, notably since he had 'come out' with his AIDS diagnosis. There were two major network television pieces done on his life, several articles in the San Francisco Chronicle, and a biography was in process (Fernandez, 1987; Scheer, 1986; Mandel, 1987). He also received many community awards in the last year of his life, most notably the Harvey Milk Community Service Award presented to him by San Francisco Mayor, Diane Feinstein in March 1987 (Marcus, 1987; Fernandez, 1987). A banner reading "Gay Olympians Salute Tom Waddell" was carried in the San Francisco Gay Pride March ten days before his death ("A salute", 1987). Springfield College, the ultraconservative, athletic school Waddell had attended, awarded him an honorary doctorate, posthumously, after the student body petitioned the administration following the special about Waddell shown on ABC's news documentary television show, *20/20* (Moor, 1987).

In death, and even before his imminent passing, Tom Waddell was immortalised as a hero, represented as a unique and truly amazing human being. His good works as a medical doctor, tireless advocate for 'minorities', and pugnacious fighter for human rights and social justice granted him the epitaph of healer, not

only of the body but of the human spirit as well. The public eulogies for him poured in as his death was announced. According to his adherents, Waddell "was able to set the imagination and the hearts of a community on fire with enthusiasm and with purpose" (White, 1987a, p. 23). Tom Waddell

> had everything. He was brilliant, loving, handsome, strong, successful and popular...His message was always hope, optimism, love and struggle towards the light....[Waddell's] greatest gift was his spirit, his tenacity, his love, and his dedication...In his lifetime, [he] created such a beacon of goodness in this world that its light will always illuminate [our] path (Mandel, 1987, p. B3).

One week after his death, the city of San Francisco honoured him with a public tribute organised by its Department of Public Health. Over four hundred people gathered in the rotunda of the majestic San Francisco City Hall. It was the first time since 1978, when the openly gay politician Harvey Milk was assassinated on the front steps of the same City Hall, that a non-elected (and as it so happened, homosexual) individual would be so honoured officially by the city (Brazil, 1987; White, 1987a). Waddell's wife[1], Sara Lewinstein announced to thunderous applause that the lien on Waddell's home had been lifted by the USOC, and that the Olympic organisation would not seek monetary damages from anyone who had been involved with the Gay Games (Brazil, 1987; "They Stole a Word", 1987). Many individuals in the crowd wore their Team San Francisco uniforms from Gay Games I or II. Gay Olympics t-shirts, which had escaped the hurried censorship just prior to the first Games, were proudly worn. One attendee pronounced, "I wanted to yell 'Olympics' at the top of my voice" (White, 1987b, p. 13).

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[1] Tom Waddell and Sara Lewinstein met organising Gay Games I. They were good friends and both had a desire to raise a child. In 1983, Jessica Waddell Lewinstein was born. It wasn't until after Waddell was diagnosed with AIDS in 1984 that the gay man and lesbian decided to get married to legally protect Jessica in the event of Waddell's death. They each carried on in other same-sex relationships while sharing the parenting of Jessica.

In spite (or because) of the overdetermination of Waddell with the Gay Games, the print media coverage of his death reinscribed a 'normalised' and heteromasculine hero. This held true especially for the *San Francisco Chronicle's* content but included the *BAR*'s reportage as well. This effect was subtly produced through two particular representations of a dying, and finally a dead Waddell, over and above his contribution to the creation and production of the Gay Games. The first of these invoked him as a decathlete, and reminded readers that the decathlon was considered (or perhaps, considered itself) to be the ultimate athletic test within serious sporting circles. Waddell was called up as being the sixth greatest athlete in the world in 1968. His strength and skill were invoked repeatedly, even though AIDS had ravaged his once powerful body (Fernandez, 1987; Schaap, 1987; Scheer, 1987).

The constitutive spectre of the stereotyped limp-wristed, effeminate fairy had to be contained by maintaining and foregrounding the heteromasculine attributes of conventional athletic masculinity. These corporeal athletic reminders kept invisible and silent the trope of the fag, containing the homosexual threat for public media consumption. Toby Miller (1998) has suggested that by the mid 1990s, it was possible to be a successful gay male sporting hero if representational strategies publicly assimilated and kept intact the configurations of dominant, conventional heteromasculinity. Miller's analysis used Ian Roberts as an exemplar. Roberts, a popular Australian rugby player, had successfully managed coming out and maintained his popular appeal in the late 1990s. In the mid 1980s, the Bay Area press predated Miller's claim. In death, Tom Waddell, through the same kinds of representational logic, was made palatable to a mainstream San Francisco public in the late 1980s.

In addition to the invocations of sporting prowess, Waddell's wife and child were positioned as the bereaved family. The pervasive heteronormative construction of family exceeded the minor inconveniences of the lesbian mom and gay dad who

did not cohabitate. Before his death, Waddell actively colluded in the discourses of husband, father, and normative family. He often invoked three-year old Jessica as the guiding light in his life and said his one regret in death would be to not witness her growing up (Fernandez, 1987; Scheer, 1987; "Tom Waddell dead", 1987). Sara Lewinstein became the bereaved widow, Waddell's best friend and support. "We loved each other" (Lewinstein in "Tom Waddell dead", 1987, p. B1). With one exception (White, 1987b), Zohn Artman, Waddell's last male lover, sometime housemate, and long time confidante - the queer excess - was made invisible in the public bereavement process. Artman and Waddell were both diagnosed with AIDS within a short time of each other and spent their final months nursing one another through the disease (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Artman died in October of 1987 (Newquist, 1987b).

It was announced at Waddell's memorial that the USOC would not be collecting any monetary damages connected to the court battle. Even with this good financial news, the SFAA still had some legal and financial hoops through which to jump. The USOC had not officially lifted the lien on Waddell's house, even though rhetorically they had claimed to have done so. The USOC had tried to recoup legal fees, with the claim at one point topping $280,000 (O'Loughlin, 1987b). Just prior to Waddell's death, Dick Schaap (who had produced the ABC television program on Waddell) had sat with Peter Ueberroth on an airline flight. Ueberroth, then Director of Major League Baseball, onetime CEO of the '84 L.A. Olympics, and a former Executive Director of the USOC, was told by Schaap about Waddell's impending death by AIDS. Schaap mentioned the USOC's lien and the financial threat it posed to Waddell's home, the only material legacy the former Olympian would leave to his three-year old daughter. Waddell died without knowing what would happen to his estate. Ueberroth purportedly pulled strings to get the USOC to remove their financial demands (Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

Regardless of Lewinstein's announcement at his memorial service, the house lien was not officially taken off until 2 weeks after he died with some serious legal wrangling, for which the SFAA had to pay attorney Judy Baer. While this expense rankled some SFAA board members (SFAA Board, 1988b; SFAA Board, 1988c; White, 1988a), it was a small sacrifice considering that the SFAA did not end up paying any attorneys' fees in the Supreme Court case. The bill for attorney's fees could have been astronomical (likely in the six figure range) as they were exempted from paying either USOC legal fees or their own as Dunlap and her team worked *pro bono* for the entire 6.5 years (Dunlap, 1988a). Perhaps this financial reprieve in the USOC case became yet another condition of possibility for the continuing process of incorporation. It mitigated the loss of the word 'Olympic' somewhat; softening the blow and making it seem less arbitrary. It made the letting go more complicated and hence, harder to mourn, harder to actually grieve.

The processes of grieving the Waddell and Olympic losses took long, twisted and incomplete routes. Two events which followed Tom Waddell's death and the Supreme Court loss (protesting a Visa sponsorship program for the USOC and resisting a San Francisco/Bay Area bid for the 1996 Summer Olympics) may be read as attempts by the gay community to represent victories in overcoming the shame attached to the Olympic prohibition. The loss to gay pride in the Supreme Court decision/USOC victory might be grievable, if gay pride could be affirmed in other, smaller victories against the Olympics. If the community could successfully defy the USOC and its supporters, it might represent a shift in libidinal attachment from the Olympic loss to avenging Waddell's death through some sort of retribution.

Rallying against Visa

The first indications of a gay consumer boycott of companies who supported the USOC through fundraising campaigns appeared in the public media in May of 1987, even before the Supreme Court had delivered its decision. A letter written to a Vice President at Merrill Lynch Realty asked the company to reconsider supporting a homophobic organisation (the USOC) through a formal fundraising campaign. "This has not been a civilized dispute about the Committee's right to expropriate for its exclusive use a part of our language, but an ill-tempted personal attack on a former Olympic champion who happens to be gay" (Montgomery, 1987a). The letter writer then went on to comment that property owners in the Bay Area should know whom Merrill Lynch was supporting, intimating that moneyed gay real estate buyers and sellers were discerning and discriminating customers.

In August 1987, the Visa company sent out their promotional newsletter, trumpeting a new, 'no-hassle' USOC sponsorship program. With every transaction made with a Visa credit card within a certain time period, customers would automatically be donating a percentage of their purchases to the 'good' cause of the United States Olympic Committee (Glazier, 1987a; Glazier, 1987b). Yet another protest concerning the Gay Games was chronicled through the pages of *BAR*, first through letters to the editor which then spread to a nation-wide organised rally. Between August 1987 and February 1988, during the time in which the promotional campaign ran, pressure was exerted upon Visa to end their sponsorship of the USOC. Many people wrote letters to the banks that held their Visa accounts and copied them to *BAR*, where they were publicly reprinted. The letters all registered some form of opposition to the donation of their money to the USOC because of its homophobic attack on the Gay Olympics.

Grievances, threats and conditions varied. Writers were outraged that credit card users were unwittingly being coerced into donating to a homophobic organisation

(Glazier, 1987; Hastings, 1987). Suggestions were put forth that donations by Visa be made to the Gay Games (often still defiantly written as Gay Olympics) or to AIDS organisations (Casetta, 1987; Mollett, 1987; Nuanez, Jr., 1987). Merchants in the Bay Area indicated they would draw their customers' attention to the problems with the sponsorship program and request they not use Visa (Johnson, 1987; Newquist, 1987a). Many letters (Bennett, 1987; Blankenship, 1987; Ginns, 1987; Kovach, 1987) invoked the memory of Tom Waddell and his persecution by the USOC, pointedly described in one letter as a "campaign of judicial fag-bashing" (Montgomery, 1987b). There were those who cited the amount of money Visa made from them, how Visa would make no more until the program was pulled, and wondered how Visa and their cooperating financial institutions were unaware of the very large gay and lesbian community in the Bay Area, some of whom were very large depositors (Hastings, 1987; Montgomery, 1987b; Nutting, 1987; Steward, 1987). Demands were made that Visa publicly apologise to the gay community ("Clipping Visa", 1987; Nuanez, Jr., 1987).

Sasha Alyson, of Alyson Publications based in Boston, Massachusetts, wrote an open letter in August 1987 condemning Visa's sponsorship program and sent it to 140 gay and lesbian newspaper editors across North America. In his letter he briefly outlined the history of USOC's discriminatory action against the Gay Games and urged readers to cut their Visa cards in half with instructions to send one half to the Visa Marketing Department (contact name and address included) and the other half to him. His intention was to find a gay artist who would sculpt a memorial to Tom Waddell with the remaining halves of the cut Visa cards (Alyson, 1987). Mary Dunlap wrote Visa and stated triumphantly, "Since [my clients, the Gay Olympics] can't use the word, I can't use my Visa card. Enclosed please find the half you may dispose of" (1987c, p.10). By December, several hundred snipped cards had been sent to Alyson ("Clipping Visa", 1987). His hope was to hurt Visa in the pocketbook. However, after several months of letter writing, Visa refused to end the sponsorship campaign, and an apology to the

lesbian and gay community from the San Francisco-based company was never to be realised.

Late in the campaign, an alternative, social justice credit card affinity program called Working Assets got entangled in the protest. This program supported politically progressive non-profit organisations, including the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF). Unfortunately, because of their association with Visa, they unintentionally and involuntarily got caught in the USOC promotion (Sally, 1987). As a result of this, Working Assets publicly announced that they were making special donations of $1000 to three national gay and lesbian organisations (NGLTF, National Gay Rights Advocates, and Lambda Legal Defence and Education Fund) to protest Visa's USOC program ("Money fund", 1988). Members of the lesbian and gay community were encouraged to switch to a Working Assets MasterCard.

The Visa protest was an early appeal to a 'pink' market, the nascent flexing of the gay market niche muscle. The message was one of 'if you don't start listening to our political concerns in the civil rights arena, we will stop supporting your business with our dollars, which are becoming more and more substantial'. The commodification of gay or lesbian identities[2] started to become explicitly recognised by activists as useful for public causes and civil rights issues. In certain local contexts, the call to heed gay and lesbian buying power was heard and respected. In October 1987, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce encouraged its members and associates to donate to the USOC to support the US Olympic team going to Seoul. Gay members of the Chamber reacted quickly and the director of the Chamber did a quick reversal, recognising the organisation's insensitivity, and apologising to the gay and lesbian community. "We need the gay community to be members of the chamber. We're belatedly sensitive to the community" (O'Loughlin, 1987a, p. 14). In Washington, D.C. six months later,

gay activists protested proposed municipal legislation, which would have donated $1 of every city residents' tax refund to the USOC ("Donation scheme", 1988).

The large credit corporations took little or no heed of the gay-led USOC protest, despite the best efforts of the grassroots card cutters. In fact, MasterCard, which during the protest was touted to be the card to which to switch, overlooked AIDS charities in a "cause-related marketing" campaign that ran simultaneously in late 1987 with Visa's USOC drive (Newquist, 1988, p. 20). The lesbian and gay niche market was not yet considered large enough, sufficiently influential, nor incorporated acceptably (in the capitalist economic sense of incorporation) to be fully embraced by corporate America. Once the lesbian and gay agenda curbed its loud and overt calls for justice, equality and fair treatment, it was then welcomed with open arms by certain large businesses on their corporate terms starting in the early and mid-1990s. Ironically, in 1993, the Federation of Gay Games got an affinity credit card with Action MasterCard, with 0.5% of cardholder purchases going to the Federation Board (Duys, 1993). The failure of the nation-wide Visa protest was an interesting harbinger of the Gay Games' commercialisation trajectory.

The (supposed) tyranny of a gay minority: Protesting the San Francisco/Bay Area 1996 Olympic bid

Coinciding with the Visa protest and the Supreme Court deliberation and decision on the use of the word 'Olympic', the gay community and sympathetic municipal politicians succeeded in putting anti-homophobia conditions on a San Francisco/Bay Area bid for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games. In 1986, the USOC had approached the mayor of San Francisco, Diane Feinstein, and suggested the Bay Area put together a bid to be the American city that would contend to be the IOC's choice to host the 1996 Games. A California State

[2] See Floyd, 1998 for a very interesting genealogy of the twinned and mutually constitutive

Senator, Quentin Kopp, also approached the USOC and he headed up the Bay Area Sports Organising Committee (BASOC) (White, 1988d). Coalitions of businesses and municipalities formed in support of the idea ("Olympic ideals", 1987). As the BASOC got more organised, and it became apparent that the USOC was not going to drop its legal and financial challenge against the Gay Games, resistance to hosting the Olympic Games in San Francisco mounted.

Supervisor Harry Britt, a dependable vote for gay causes, introduced legislation in early January 1987 to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. It proposed "to remove the city from any efforts to bring the 1996 Olympics to San Francisco" until the USOC allowed the Gay Games to use the word 'Olympic' and they ended their harassment of Tom Waddell ("No Gay Olympics", 1987, p.1). The constituency of the gay community that was interested in this issue was already in protest mode. Letters were written to Mayor Feinstein, to the *Chronicle* and to the *BAR* condemning the USOC's case against the Gay Games and its persecution of Waddell (D'Angelo, 1987; De Young, 1987; Dibelka, 1987). San Francisco was invoked as being a tolerant, open and diverse community that should not sanction the kind of bigotry that the USOC persisted in perpetrating (Collins, 1987;"No Gay Olympics', 1987; Dibelka, 1987).

In addition, writers suggested that bringing the Olympics to San Francisco would be nothing more than hosting a "mammoth boondoggle" which would see athletic events held in widespread facilities (with few new facilities being built in San Francisco proper), creating inconveniences for local residents, and stealing precious public funds away from desperately needed city services. While the promoters of the Bay Area bid invoked the multi-million dollar windfall[3] that the

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emergence of Taylorist/Fordist capitalism and homosexual identities.

[3] The Olympic civic boosters' projections for economic gain in San Francisco varied widely. Quentin Kopp promised a $2 billion return (White, 1988a). Harvey Rose, the civic bureaucrat in charge of budget analysis, was quoted as suggesting a profit of $700 million in one article (Hinckle, 1988), but only $70 million in another (Rosenbaum, 1988). A discrepancy of over 1.9

1984 Los Angeles games generated (implying that San Francisco would enjoy the same fate), astute observers in the gay community noted that few, if any local L.A. businesses profited, and that most residents stayed home and watched the games on television ("Games people play", 1987). Interestingly, these community criticisms echo the critical academic literature in sport sociology that questions the unmitigated 'good' of Olympic-style sporting spectacles (Donnelly, 1996; Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Lenskyj, 2000; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996).

The Britt legislation was revived again in September 1987. By then, the Gay Games had lost its court case to use the word 'Olympic' and Tom Waddell had been dead for two months. The *San Francisco Chronicle* editorial staff, in keeping with its minimal and lukewarm support for the Gay Games and gay community, suggested that Harry Britt's legislation should not be fuelled by avenging Waddell's unfortunate death ("Olympic ideals", 1987). The matter had been decided by the court once and for all, and the *Chronicle* claimed over two thirds of San Francisco's population supported the Olympics bid. State Senator Quentin Kopp, chair of the BASOC, suggested that Britt's resolution was "manifestly unfair" to the hundreds of people who worked on the bid proposal and those who supported it ("A bad idea", 1987). Of course, Kopp's claim negated and made invisible how 'manifestly unfair' the USOC's legal move was to the hundreds of volunteers and participants in the first two Gay Games. Rikki Streicher, an SFAA board member, noted that in the BASOC's promotional bid package they described major, successful events that had been hosted by the Bay Area over the last 50 years, indicating the area's ability to welcome the Olympic Games. Not once were the Gay Games mentioned as an athletic event worthy of note, although the smaller Super Bowl event held at Stanford was invoked. Streicher suggested that this was simply indicative of the entrenched homophobia of the Olympics and based on that alone, she could not support the bid (White, 1988a).

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billion dollars in projections begs the question of how reliable or trustworthy these forecasts really

The jockeying for supervisor votes and support for the Britt legislation began and carried on until March of 1988 (Gonzalez, 1987). At a February 4, 1988 hearing on the subject, various arguments were heard. Quentin Kopp maintained that hosting the Olympics would result in two billion dollars of income for the Bay Area and that he had the support of six supervisors, 45 Bay Area city councils, and three major Bay Area Chambers of Commerce ("A vote for", 1988; White, 1988a). Kopp also suggested that a member of the Olympic Site Selection Committee had indicated to him during a San Francisco visit that the Bay Area would be one of two places the USOC would consider (resedimenting Helen Lenskyj's (2000) arguments that Olympic site decisions are made through insider nepotism and corruption). Additionally, another USOC member confided in Kopp that he had changed his mind and now supported San Francisco's bid after visiting the city (Dickey, 1988). Mary Dunlap also presented counterarguments at the hearing, reinvoking the unfairness of the USOC to allow other organisations to use the word 'Olympic' when the Gay Games could not (White, 1988a). New mayor Art Agnos officially waded into the fray two days later, stating that he opposed the Olympic bid until the USOC recognised gays and lesbians as "part of the human family" (Kolbe, 1988, p.2).

The gay community was not 'one big happy family' itself on this issue. The Golden Gate Business Association (GGBA), a sort of gay and lesbian 'Chamber of Commerce' in San Francisco, polled its board members about their support for the Britt resolution, with a resounding majority opposing it (White, 1988a). However a week later, a letter to the editor in *BAR* from four past presidents of the GGBA wholly supported the Britt resolution on the basis that dignity and human rights were more important than commercial gain (McBride et al, 1988) and another letter urged GGBA members to withdraw from the organisation (Tobler, 1988b). Letters to the editor in *BAR* suggested that Britt and the gay community should let it go, that the Olympics were larger than the narrow mindedness of USOC bigotry.

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were.

These letters suggested that a better way to express gay pride was to have the Olympics come to the city so the gay community could showcase its intelligence, integrity, professionalism, and hospitality to an international audience rather than be known for pouting and petty squabbling (Chambers, 1988; Frogge, 1988; Palmer; 1988). Others suggested that by 1996 the USOC would have come around and that gays and lesbians would have no quarrel with them by then (Wadsworth, 1988; Palmer, 1988).[4] The liberal progressive politics in these letters (slow incremental change will occur and militant defiance should be avoided) did not sit well with certain Gay Games commentators. Will Snyder (1988) suggested in a *BAR* commentary that it was time for those in positions of power (such as the USOC) to start compromising, and that the time for gays and lesbians to compromise was over. It seemed the San Francisco Board of Supervisors were about to agree.

Compromise was something that Mayor Art Agnos seemed to be able to broker between the BASOC and the gay community, including Quentin Kopp, Mary Dunlap and Harry Britt. Agnos and his office had managed to get the USOC's ear during the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics. While making no promises, the USOC "didn't tell [them] to go to hell either", and an Agnos spokesperson added that the authority of the San Francisco Mayor's Office siding with the gay lobby may have influenced the USOC's decision to engage in some form of dialogue (White, 1988b, p. 2). Perhaps it was this reason that Quentin Kopp and the BASOC agreed to meet with Agnos and the gay community lobby group. The two constituencies sat down together for the first time and discussed their differences, producing a

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[4] In San Francisco in 1989, Mayor Art Agnos actively supported a proposition to build a new stadium in San Francisco, siding with pro-growth groups and against his historically supportive liberal and neighbourhood activist alliances. Robert Bailey (1999) has outlined that the gay and lesbian community was split almost evenly on the stadium issue, showing up a moneyed, professional gay and lesbian émigré vote versus an older, working class gay and lesbian interest group. While Bailey does not discuss the 1996 Olympic bid, it is congruent that the gay and lesbian vote is split, and that it might also be conceivable that Agnos would support such a stadium in the wake of his opposition to the Olympic bid.

five point proposal upon which all agreed would be written into the San Francisco/Bay Area Olympic bid (Keane, 1988; White, 1988b). The Britt Resolution was revised accordingly to be put to a vote of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Following the mediation meeting with the BASOC and members of the gay community, Art Agnos drafted a letter to the USOC through Ronald Rowan (who continued to act as General Counsel for the USOC). The five page letter was consummately written, conciliatory while simultaneously demanding[5]. Agnos invoked Waddell as a personal friend, characterising him as a hero for dignity and that the unfortunate incidents between 1982 and 1987 had clouded what should be a good relationship between the gay and lesbian athletic community and the USOC. Recognising that the USOC would be unlikely to return the word 'Olympic' to the Gay Games, Agnos was happy to report that this was no longer a contingent demand. The mayor then outlined the five new requirements the Bay Area had of the USOC if San Francisco were to consider hosting the 1996 Summer Olympics Games.

These conditions were: 1. An antidiscrimination statement that included sexual orientation. 2. A seat on the BASOC for a member of the lesbian and gay community. 3. A commitment to supply organisational and fundraising expertise to Gay Games organisers, and help organising Gay Games III. 4. An agreement for USOC support to exempt the Gay Games from the Amateur Sports Act. 5. A commitment from the USOC to actively lobby for changes in immigration law to

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[5] My interpretation of the Agnos letter differs considerably from that of Warren Hinckle (1988), a regular *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist in the late 1980s. One day before the SF Board of Supervisors voted on the revised Britt resolution, Hinckle wrote a scathing column denouncing Agnos as "Red Art - the new supreme executive of the sovereign City and County of San Francisco". Hinckle went on to suggest that the five-page letter drafted to the USOC made "suicidal demands", was "illiterate", and "misstated the position of the BASOC" (Hinckle, 1988, p. A3). Hinckle quoted a furious Quentin Kopp as calling Agnos a "doctrinaire ideologue" who was willing to walk away from a $700 million windfall ("without any downside risk" no less) when the city coffers were empty. (San Francisco was reportedly experiencing a serious budget crisis in 1988).

not exclude homosexual visitors from the US. Agnos ended his letter by invoking the purposes and goals of the USOC, specifically drawing attention to the sections in which the organisation was bound to promote amateur athletic opportunities for *all*, and that conflicts and disputes were to be resolved swiftly in the best interests of *all* amateur athletic participants. "Your mandate encourages us to believe that the US Olympic Committee has an open door to 'encourage' and support lesbian and gay athletic events just as it does for other sporting groups" (Agnos, 1988, p.5).

The revised Britt resolution was finally voted on and barely passed in a 6-5 decision on March 7, 1988, almost one year since it had been first tabled. The tenuous compromise that Agnos had brokered between the Kopp and Britt camps was cracking. Kopp was furious that Agnos had "insulted his people and invited them to leave... They want to divide the committee and disrupt the Olympics negotiations" (Kopp in Hinckle, 1988, p. A3). The Board of Supervisor's debate was heated and went on until after midnight. John Molinari, a supervisor whose strongest support came from the gay community, changed his mind at the last moment and voted against the Britt resolution. One of Molinari's aides (and devoted Gay Games organiser), Shawn Kelly, quit immediately in protest (Garcia & Stewart, 1988). Jack Davis, a gay aide to Senator Quentin Kopp attempted to block votes during the debate. He suggested that if the Britt resolution passed, AIDS funding would be threatened at the State level, wielding an economic club in homophobic blackmail (White, 1988c). Various other gay bashing commentators enacted the same conflation, assuming that AIDS was solely a gay issue, and that all gays and lesbians would prioritise money over an Olympics squabble (Saylor & Solomon, 1988).

And the gay community, characterised by one newspaper as the "Faggots of 'Frisco", quickly became Quentin Kopp's and the mainstream media's scapegoat for the imminent loss of the Olympics bid, as the five requirements of the USOC

took on the entire significance for the bid's failure (Hinckle, 1988; White, 1988f). Even after the USOC named Minneapolis/St. Paul and Atlanta as the two prospective US city sites, Kopp persisted in his divisive political grandstanding (O'Loughlin, 1988; White, 1988e). Four supervisors signed a petition for a ballot initiative that would welcome the Olympics to San Francisco without the 'ridiculous' demands of the gay community (Garcia& Stewart, 1988; White, 1988c). Commentators suggested there were broad deficiencies in the Bay Area proposal notwithstanding the human rights issues (White, 1988d). This reasoned approach, however, was lost in the tirade of vitriolic moralism that a gay minority was putting its rights ahead of the entire area (Goodsite, 1988; Jasinski, 1988; Martin, 1988; Nevius, 1988; "Olympic insult", 1988; White, 1988d; White, 1988f).

Garnering and maintaining the gay block vote in San Francisco municipal politics was taken very seriously in the late 1980s (Bailey, 1999). The *Sentinel* and *BAR* were full of debate and controversy over which supervisor or mayoral candidates deserved the gay vote and who voted how on gay and lesbian related initiatives (see "Good sports II", 1988 as an exemplar of this). The 1996 Olympics issue prompted gay and lesbian staff and committee members to resign in protest when the elected officials for whom they worked voted against Britt (Garcia & Stewart, 1988; O'Loughlin, 1988; White, 1988c). The gay population was influential enough to make or break certain municipal political careers. For instance, letters were written to Quentin Kopp, clearly stating that he had hid his homophobic politics well and that he would lose volunteer time, money, and votes at the ballot box (Tobler, 1988a). Various gay and lesbian clubs intended to support an alternative Democratic candidate in Kopp's district and in the upcoming election planned to actively campaign against the supervisors who voted with him, and to support supervisors who had supported the Britt resolution, especially those

(predictably female) candidates whose re-election was questionable[6] (White, 1988c; Whitney, 1988). The amount of political pressure and heat that the mayor and all the supervisors took from the public on this issue was enormous, most of it hostile to losing the Olympic opportunity (White, 1988b; White, 1988c).

The SFAA kept quite a low profile during the whole 1996 Olympic bid controversy. All of the formal legal loose ends from the Supreme Court case were not finished until January, 1988 and the SFAA Board was instructed to be very careful to not refer to the Gay Games as in any way Olympic (Dunlap, 1988a)[7]. Rikki Streicher (1988) wrote an opinion piece in *BAR* which suggested that the Gay Games did not hate the Olympics, nor were the SFAA "arbitrarily recalcitrant and mean-spirited" (p. 6). However, they could not overlook the unjust discrimination against the organisation and the financial and legal harassment of their founder, Tom Waddell until the USOC made some meaningful move of retribution in addressing social justice issues. Lawrence Sheehan (1988), another SFAA board member, clearly articulated how the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in its persistent support of Kopp, supported an ideology that discrimination against gays and lesbians was not a human rights transgression. Sheehan was open that the Gay Games organisation would have welcomed the Olympics, but not without some form of redress for gays and lesbians from the USOC. There were grumblings at

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[6] As late as March 1987, in the last six months of his life, Tom Waddell was still actively raising money for Harry Britt's congressional campaign when his health and energy allowed him (Fernandez, 1987).

[7] In part, it took six months to wrap up the final details of *SFAA vs. USOC* because Mary Dunlap, for a time in the fall of 1987, took it upon herself to insist that the USOC would help to lobby Congress in support of changes to the 1978 Amateur Sports Act. The SFAA board explicitly told Dunlap to drop her demands about the Amateur Sports Act (wondering when they even entered the negotiations with the USOC) and to get the legal arrangements completed ("SFAA Board", 1987). Dunlap resigned from the SFAA board as soon as the final order was signed, and proceeded to carry a torch for the crusade of a popular, grassroots Olympic movement free from the USOC's controlling gaze. For a time, California Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi and her staff suggested that legislation would be drafted to spearhead the changes (Dunlap, 1988a; O'Loughlin, 1987b). I would suggest that perhaps one of the reasons this initiative failed was that it was not psychically invested in the same way as the Gay Olympics were and as such, did not have the same sustaining motivation to carry it through. The 'popular' aspect of the Gay Games was not lost as the Games proceeded in their 'grassroots' form, and therefore the motivation to lobby for them was not manifested.

an SFAA Board meeting that Harry Britt did not consult the SFAA in his opposition to the Olympics, and that the SFAA had to better control how it was represented by the media (SFAA Board, 1988a).

This came to the fore after Sara Lewinstein approached popular *Chronicle* columnist Bob Mandel, a Gay Games supporter, to write a column on the issue (White, 1988e). In his piece, Mandel suggested that Tom Waddell's memory was being exploited and Lewinstein was quoted as saying "we made a lot of straight people hate us" (in Mandel, 1988, p. A5). She reiterated that gays and lesbians loved the Olympics, however much they disliked the bureaucrats in charge, and that Waddell really had wanted an Olympic-size swimming pool in the city (Mandel, 1988). This incurred the wrath of Mary Dunlap who wrote a scathing open letter to Lewinstein indicting her for suggesting that Waddell would have traded basic human rights for a pool or a grudging tolerance from 'straight people' (Dunlap, 1988b).

Dunlap's feisty rhetoric aside, the SFAA, which in mid-1988 was actively working towards disbanding to become the international Federation of the Gay Games (FGG), favoured the conservative, assimilation tack. The SFAA Board decided its official position on the 1996 Olympics bid should be made public (SFAA Board, 1988a). Hal Herkenhoff stepped up to the plate and wrote a thoughtful, if conservative, commentary, published in the *BAR*, which suggested that change had to happen at the level of the Amateur Sports Act federal legislation and that continued gay community resistance to the issue would only hurt the Gay Games image. Herkenhoff called for the supportive politicians to change the federal legislation so all organisations could use the generic word 'Olympic' "for the inspiration of their participants" (Herkenhoff, 1988, p. 41). The FGG's individualised and unobtrusive public relations style was quietly enacted before even the organisation itself was formed. The Gay Games lost the shameful

Olympics and Tom Waddell in the external world, but the Olympics and Waddell's beliefs were preserved in important ways.

The following excerpt from a letter to the editor in the *BAR* appeared near the end of the public debate about the Olympics bid. It summed up how the Gay Games abandoned in that moment a substantive gay rights battle and invested in rhetoric of individualised gay pride:

> Amidst all the ranting and raving that's been going on over the "Olympics issue" (and I'm including myself), some of the coolest heads (and the classiest acts) have been those of [Gay Games organizers] Hal [Herkenhoff] and Shawn P. Kelly. Gay Games III, IV, V etc. will continue to be successful because of people like them. Thanks, guys (Allen, 1988).

The letter was prophetic in its assertions about the success of future Gay Games and a quieter, assimilationist politics. Amendments which would have benefited the Gay Games were never made to the 1978 Amateur Sports Act, thus nullifying the political promise held out in the compromise not to jeopardise a Gay Games reputation or even a lesbian and gay community political image (Amateur Sports Act, 1978). The passage also heralded a certain finality as to the loss of the word 'Olympics' and of Tom Waddell. The time for "ranting and raving" was over, and the refusal to break the attachment preserved the losses in the psychic realm.

Although I have characterised the Visa protest and the 1996 Olympic bid events as a community attempting to mourn Waddell and the Gay Olympics, arguably these are misrecognitions of grief, imaginary moments within a melancholic production of the subject of the Gay Games. Unlike mourning, Freud suggested that the process attached to melancholia is internalisation, where the lost object or ideal is retained within the ego. "An object which was lost has been set up again in the ego - that is, an object-cathexis has been replaced by an identification"

(Freud in Butler, 1990, p. 58). In Judith Butler's (1990) *Gender Trouble*, she suggests that Freud's later work (specifically in "The Ego and the Id") makes the suggestion that indeed melancholic identification may be a prerequisite for letting go of the object.

Therefore, these moments of community mourning for the Gay Olympics could not have happened without the initial melancholic identification with the first prohibition on the word 'Olympic'. While the limited success of each of these activities might be read as small victories, they also involved their own sets of concurrent losses. The Visa protest, while likely cathartic for those who 'snipped', was ignored by the credit company, who paid the activists no heed. The fight to stop the 1996 Olympic bid showed up and exacerbated the divisions between the political priorities of the straight and gay communities, but also the schisms within the gay community itself. These two protest events also continued to reinvest and re-identify with Olympism, even if negatively. The community had not left the Olympics, or its attendant shame, behind.

The Gay Games organisers were, for the most part, invisible in these community protests. And when they did speak publicly, as in Hal Herkenhoff's (1988) piece when he suggested the solution was to deal with the legislators, it was in muted tones:

> Consider that the irresolution of melancholia is tied to the check placed upon aggression against the lost other, that the idealization of the other that accompanies the self-beratement in melancholia is precisely the routing against the ego of aggression toward the other which is prohibited from being expressed directly (Butler, 1997, p.161).

The Gay Games organisers did not express the same rage towards the Olympics or the USOC that many individuals in the larger San Francisco gay community did.

Another example was when Sara Lewinstein suggested that protesters were tarnishing Tom Waddell's memory by invoking him in their vocal resistance to San Francisco hosting the 1996 Olympics (Mandel, 1988). The Gay Games, as an organisation, hung onto its Olympic dream and Waddell's vision of it. "For there is no final breaking of the attachment. There is, rather, the incorporation of the attachment *as* identification, where identification becomes a magical, a psychic form of preserving the object...The lost object continues to haunt and inhabit the ego as one of its constitutive identifications" (Butler, 1997, p. 134). In the following section I will outline how these psychic identifications shaped the discursive formation of the Gay Games. The next part specifically considers how the figure of Tom Waddell haunts the Gay Games.

Section III: The psychic conditions of possibility

Part One - A Waddellian haunting

In the summer of 1987, when the Gay Games lost the Olympic battle and their founder, one adherent wrote to the *BAR* and suggested that the USOC be damned, the Gay Games should forego the word 'Olympic' and call themselves the Gay Waddellian Games, giving tribute where it was most appropriate and deserving (Ashley-Dobbin, 1987). The Federation of Gay Games (FGG) was formed in 1989 to be the international organising body for all subsequent Gay Games and it replaced the SFAA, which disbanded when the FGG was created. Many of the people who composed the FGG had been pivotal in the SFAA, and they collectively experienced the loss of Tom Waddell. Some individuals in the FGG had known Waddell intimately. As an organisation, they had not let the figure of Waddell go; they had incorporated their love for the lost founder, as well as an identification with the lost Olympics.

In the immediate wake of his death, the invocation of Tom Waddell was used strategically at various times, whether to indict the USOC and Olympic movement, or to protest against Visa or a Summer Olympics bid. His memory has been used contradictorily to support projects by which others believe he would have been appalled. In 1988, Mary Dunlap and Sara Lewinstein accused each other of gratuitously misrepresenting Waddell's principles concerning whether or not he would have supported an Olympic bid for San Francisco (Dunlap, 1988b; Mandel, 1988; SFAA Board, 1988a). Almost every bid proposal prepared to host a Gay Games has gone to great lengths to discuss how they would fulfil Tom Waddell's philosophies on sport, sexuality and participation. At times, interpretations of these ideals bumped up against one another in contradictory ways.

For example, in 1998, at Gay Games V, there were several conflicts about how Amsterdam organisers interpreted Waddell's ideas about inclusion and participation differently than many of the American-based Federation members and international gay and lesbian athletic associations. The Amsterdam organisers were collapsing older age categories to provide increased time for more people overall to participate. This became especially controversial in the swimming competition. Older swimmers complained that they would be forced to compete against others much younger than them, which, they argued, excluded them from fair competition and the chance to win by competing against their age group peers[1]. The IGLA (the International Gay and Lesbian Aquatics association) spearheaded the complaint, and Waddell's desires for sanctioned events, full participation, and achieving personal best through athletic competition collided in an angry conflict (Seaton & Carson, 1998; van Yperen, 1998).[2] Ageism was invoked as the last (!) frontier that the Gay Games must conquer (FGG Executive, 1998b). Each side in this skirmish appealed to Tom Waddell and his memory at various times to bolster their position. His vision and ideals for the Gay Games have endured to become complicated organising rubrics for the later Gay Games,

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[1] Perhaps spending extended periods of time immersed in archival material produces a macabre sense of humour in me, but I think there was a very funny email exchange about the age category controversy. Tom Cracovia, a long time Gay Games and Team New York volunteer, was complaining to the FGG board about the Amsterdam organisers collapsing the older age categories (60, 70, and 80 year olds) into one competition. Typically, master swim age categories are broken down in five-year increments. Cracovia recounted the story of a very successful 80-year old swimmer who threatened that if he had to compete against 60-something year olds, he would boycott the 1998 Gay Games and not participate. Unfortunately, this robust athlete died before Gay Games V and therefore could not hold out on his threat to boycott (Cracovia, 1998)!

[2] Boycott threats aside, this incident in particular drew attention to the organisational skirmishes played out between lesbian and gay sport organisations and traditional sport governing bodies. One of Tom Waddell's dreams was to have the competitive events at the Gay Games sanctioned by the same authorities that sanction the Olympic Games. By 1998, the IGLA wanted to be considered the sanctioning authority for the Gay Games. The argument ran that if lesbian and gay athletics was going to take itself seriously, it should treat its governing bodies as the final authority. Many traditional sport-governing bodies did not consider an entity like the IGLA as important, and hence the Amsterdam sport organisers relied on FINA (the international aquatics regulator) to agree to sanction their event. This was a serious issue with which the FGG's Sport Committee grappled post Gay Games V. Promoters of gay and lesbian umbrella sport organisations (such as the IGLA) argued that if the Gay Games really believed in a gay and lesbian sports movement, they should be authorising lesbian and gay sanctioning bodies as the ultimate arbiter at the Gay Games.

ultimately resedimenting and dovetailing nicely with a liberal individualistic ethos in a neo-conservative era.

Waddell's memory has been kept alive symbolically in a variety of ways. In 1989, a Gay Games 'benefactor' decided to raise money to purchase and donate the Waddell Cup, a trophy honour that would be awarded to recognise the most deserving volunteer participant at each subsequent Gay Games. The Waddell Cup has become an interesting metaphor for the rationalisation and image making of the FGG organisation. Rob Neyts, a Vancouverite, contacted some board members of the MVAAA (Metropolitan Vancouver Arts and Athletics Association - the organising group for Gay Games III) in 1989 to suggest that he would raise money for the trophy. Neyts thought he had received permission to pursue the project and held several fundraisers, primarily in the leather community in Vancouver, and purchased the trophy which two years later was being insured for $3,000 replacement value. Before its dissolution, the SFAA had wanted to create a similar award, which they envisioned would be passed from host city to host city, and awarded at each Games. The Vancouver board as a whole never decided that the trophy should be given the go ahead. By default, the responsibility for the Cup fell to the newly formed FGG. An Awards Committee was struck to govern the Waddell Cup and its bylaws. Sara Lewinstein, Waddell's widow, was immediately sought to be appointed as the female co-chair of the committee (FGG Executive, 1989d; FGG Executive, 1991b; Neyts, 1991).

The FGG scrambled to transfer ownership of the Cup from Neyts to itself (a transaction which would not be legally completed until 1991), and then had little time to call for nominations for potential recipients (FGG Executive, 1990b; Neyts, 1991). The Tom Waddell Memorial Cup was presented for the first time at Gay Games III to long time Gay Games organiser and volunteer, Paul Mart, at the Closing Ceremonies in Vancouver. Mart had been one of the original three people (with Tom Waddell and Mark Brown) who had attended the first meeting of the

Gay Olympic Games, in June 1980 (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Sara Lewinstein presented the trophy at the Closing Ceremonies with her and Waddell's 6-year old daughter, Jessica, standing onstage, looking bored, fidgeting by the lectern (FGG Executive, 1990b; Forzley & Hughes, 1990). It was one of the few official public appearances of the Federation at Gay Games III (FGG Board, 1990).

The history of the Tom Waddell Memorial Cup represents the memory of Waddell and his legacy in several interesting and contradictory ways. The trophy's creation through the grassroots initiative of Rob Neyts and the financial support of the Vancouver leather community hearkens back to the very first Gay Games where spontaneous gay community support was embraced and encouraged. In Waddell's weekly *BAR* columns in 1981 and 1982, he revelled in and marvelled about the subcultural elements of the gay community that championed the Gay Olympics. Among others, supporters were the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, the very uncloistered group of nuns in drag who performed half time shows at basketball games or the fundraising efforts of the locally famous and very popular performance troupe, Men Behind Bars, which was a gay male sex show which included a good dose of leather onstage (Waddell, 1982b).

In the mid 1980s, due in part to the AIDS epidemic taking its massive toll on gay men's lives and the resulting clamp down on unbridled homosexual activity, the Gay Games rhetoric shifted to downplay and almost erase sex, particularly any explicit homosexually inflected sex, or representations thereof. The Gay Games were to be about meeting the human potential and were not to be defined by (homo)sexuality. This sex-less discourse has become, ironically, the unofficial official discourse of the Gay Games (Probyn, 2000). Waddell himself promulgated such ideas, giving interviews to the straight press where he insisted that the explicitness of sex in the gay ghetto was not the norm, practised by a minority, and fetishised by the media (Fernandez 1987; Moor, 1987; Scheer, 1987). At a SFAA board meeting in March 1986, Waddell was adamant that while

'safe-sex' information could be made available during Gay Games II, condoms would absolutely not be distributed as this would give the 'wrong' impression and detract from the spirit and purpose of the event[3] (SFAA Board, 1986a). The effect was to desexualise and sanitise gays and lesbians so they could fit in and take their place at the heteronormative table.

In the official FGG information about the Waddell Cup there was absolutely no mention ever of its financial condition of possibility predominantly being the gay male leather community of Vancouver. Isolated individuals who had donated significantly for the trophy were thanked in the Celebration '90 Official Program ("Tom Waddell", 1990). It was described as a gift to the Gay Games from Vancouver, headed up by Rob Neyts, who professed to be so moved by Tom Waddell's life story that he wanted to create an award for outstanding participant ("Personal Trophy", 1988). The official call for nominations read "the award is intended to honour an outstanding Gay Games individual.... exemplifying the spirit and pride of Gay Games Founder Tom Waddell" (Farrell, 1990, p.1). It was as if there had to be a necessary distancing of the hero Waddell from the taint of a transgressive s/m leather reality. In fact, there was correspondence to the MVAAA from groups inquiring if a leather presence and/or participation would even be welcome at Gay Games III ("Letter", 1988; MVAAA Board, 1989). For some groups, the presumption of inclusivity, no matter how explicit, could not be assumed.

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[3] This practice did not last for long however. At the next Games in 1990, all registered participants at Gay Games III in Vancouver were supplied with a safe-sex kit in their registration package. Vancouver organiser Richard Dopson was quoted in the Globe & Mail as saying, "We believe it's a responsible attitude to give a safe-sex kit with the latest information on AIDS... Any major organisation planning an event in Vancouver should do the same thing" (Dopson in Matas, 1990, p. A3). In 1998, DUREX Condoms supported the Gay Games and the AIDS Quilt Tour by providing 70,000 free condoms, which were distributed as part of AIDS prevention education in Amsterdam ("AIDS Memorial Quilt", 1998). Waddell's fear of free condoms leading to the impression of a sex-crazed, lustful athletic event gone bad were not going to be overcome by denying condom distribution. Necessarily, the Gay Games in and of themselves would be overdetermined and saturated with illicit and perverse sexuality. In another comparison, in the Athlete's Village at the 2000 Summer Olympic Games, 100,000 free condoms were snatched up immediately ("More condoms", 2000). Because the Olympics are of course the 'straight' games, even freebie condoms did not unduly sexualise that event.

One of the criteria for the Waddell Cup is "someone who personifies the standards of selflessness, devotion, humility, dignity and love of humanity set by the late Dr. Tom Waddell" (Farrell, 1990, p.2). The Waddell Cup winner symbolised for a short time at each Gay Games, the lost Tom Waddell, a hopeful but ultimately ineffective replacement, a mournful substitute that was to be revived every four years. The second time the Cup was awarded in 1994, it went to Rikki Streicher, a long time lesbian activist, committed gay community volunteer, and gay business owner (among other ventures, she owned Maud's, the famous lesbian bar) in San Francisco. She stepped in as a crucial board member in the mid 1980s when the Games were needing direction as Waddell, sick with AIDS, could not carry the full load. She carried the SFAA through until the FGG transition took place (Conkin, 1994; Ross, 1994).

Streicher herself was battling terminal breast cancer at the time of Gay Games IV in New York and died seven weeks after Stonewall's 25th Anniversary. The Gay Games Torch Run had, after Gay Games I, become an AIDS awareness and fundraising tool. Streicher, with Waddell and Lewinstein, lit the Gay Games flame with the torch in 1986. The International Rainbow Memorial Run started in 1990 with a run between San Francisco and Vancouver. A rainbow flag stood in for the torch, and started to represent not only the Gay Games but also a host of social issues affecting lesbigay and trans communities. By 1998, the symbolic 'torch' left San Francisco, the 'Athens' of the Gay Games, and the run was incorporated into the European tour of the AIDS memorial quilt, which coincided with Gay Games V. As part of the push for gender equity, the FGG recognised that the prevalence of breast cancer among lesbians was a major health concern and breast cancer prevention was twinned with AIDS in the 1998 International Rainbow Memorial Run (American Run, 1998). The sad story is that so many giving and talented people involved with the Gay Games have succumbed to one or the other of these

diseases, and that two of them (Waddell and Streicher) are remembered (differently) through the Memorial Cup.

By 1998, the awarding of the Waddell Cup had become a highly rationalised enterprise with upwards of a dozen people being nominated, award criteria clearly laid out, and meetings to determine winners through secret balloting. Nominees had a file devoted to their nomination ("Waddell Cup", 1998). At Gay Games V in Amsterdam, the Waddell Cup was awarded for the first time to someone who was not on the FGG board. In a FGG discussion paper, the board congratulated itself on this achievement. "In itself, this simple act speaks volumes about our desire to reach outside ourselves and to realize that there are many people outside the Federation who are just as dedicated to the Gay Games movement as we are" (FGG Strategic, 1998, p. 4). Battling charges that they were a secretive, elitist, insular clique, the FGG held up the awarding of the Waddell Cup to an outsider as heralding their welcoming and inclusive nature. It is further suggested in the discussion paper that the Waddell Cup be awarded more often and used as a "powerful outreach tool", acknowledging non-Federation 'minorities' (FGG Strategic, 1998)!

Waddell's philosophy of 'inclusion and participation for all' is bizarrely twisted in how he is remembered and immortalised through the Waddell Cup. Made static, aspects of him hauntingly function to inform the directives of the FGG in highly contradictory ways. Tom Waddell has been immortalised through the Gay Games movement. Fixing him in a collective memory happened almost immediately upon his death. Male Entertainment Network (MEN video), the official 'filmmaker' of the first two Gay Games, made a video of Waddell's public memorial tribute held in the rotunda of the San Francisco City Hall in 1987. It was sold as 'public service' for ten dollars, theoretically the cost of production (White, 1987b). San Francisco Chronicle columnist, Bill Mandel lamented 8 months after Waddell's death, that he was losing the "real 3-D Tom" who was emerging as a martyr less

than a year after his death (Mandel, 1988, p. A5). In 1988, Tom Waddell's memory was preserved through seven panels in the AIDS Memorial Quilt, more than any other individual at that time (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). In 1990, a Celebration '90 newsletter headline proclaimed, "Waddell's dream of international Gay Games fulfilled" (McDell, 1990, p. 4).

The constant reiterations of the good Tom Waddell continued unabated. As I have already discussed, the Waddell Trophy was awarded for the first time in 1990. In the lead up to the New York Games in 1994, nostalgic remembrances of the founder Waddell were printed in the Gay Games IV newsletter, *Unity '94* (Schaap, 1991). Sara Lewinstein spearheaded the development of Tom Waddell commemorative coins (echoing the Olympic collector coins), which would be sold as a fundraising venture for the FGG. The coins featured Tom Waddell's head on one side and the FGG logo on the other. The FGG received 5% of all revenue generated from them (Peterson & Kennedy, 1994a). The Gay Games and Tom Waddell were embossed together in enduring memory.

During the Opening Ceremonies of Gay Games IV, a Tom Waddell video tribute was played over the huge screen in Wien Stadium at Columbia University to the 25,000 strong Opening Ceremonies crowd. The video was introduced by American Olympic medallist, swimmer Bruce Hayes, and was followed by eleven-year old Jessica Waddell Lewinstein who read a poem she had written about her dead father ("Opening Ceremonies", 1994; Waddell & Schaap, 1996). The choreography of the ceremonies was carefully orchestrated to create the imaginary Olympic gay pride moment. As the Gay Games IV *Games Guide* described it, "Truly Olympian in scope, Opening Ceremonies are designed to evoke feelings similar to those experienced by Dr. Tom Waddell as he entered the stadium in Mexico City in 1968, where the idea for the Gay Games was born" ("Opening & Closing", 1994, p. 44). The never-ending quest for origins was solidified through the opening and closing spectacles of the fourth Gay Games.

Tom Waddell was invoked in the beginning (at the Opening Ceremonies) and at the end (at the Closing Ceremonies), when his wife and child presented the Waddell Cup for the second time ("Closing Ceremonies", 1994).

One of the most powerfully evocative tactics to keep Tom Waddell 'alive' has been how his daughter, Jessica, has been deployed throughout Gay Games discourse. A picture of Waddell holding 3 year old blond Jessica at Gay Games II is one of the most enduring pictures of the Games founder. She has been a presence at every Gay Games since her father died in 1987. She was a bored seven-year old on the Closing Ceremonies stage in 1990 at the Vancouver Gay Games (Forzley & Hughes, 1990). Her profile at the New York Games was much higher. The eleven year old read her own poetry about her father to 25,000 people and presented trophies ("Closing Ceremonies", 1994; "Opening Ceremonies", 1994; Waddell & Schaap, 1996). For Gay Games V, Sara and Jessica hosted the media circus/reception that launched the Rainbow Run for the End of AIDS at Waddell's Albion Street home in the Mission District in San Francisco (American Run, 1998). The mother and daughter duo had a large photographic presence at Gay Games V in Amsterdam ("Photo file", 1998). Daughter Jessica is the closest live emulation of the unmourned hero. Since his death, Waddell's daughter (Jessica) and his wife, the lesbian Sara, have been used discursively to subtly keep in place a heteronormative myth, a safe, conventional familial structure. Wittingly or not, the Gay Games has used this conservative symbolism.

The Gay Games have also capitalised on gay Olympic heroes - heroes who were necessarily public Olympians before they were publicly gay. Tom Waddell implicitly created this dynamic. "Tom represented the spirit of the Olympics. He was a true Olympian" (Brazil, 1987, p. B8). Olympic gold medallist in swimming, Bruce Hayes came out to the sporting world in Vancouver in 1990 and was a major poster boy in the promotional campaign for Gay Games IV (New York in '94, 1993; Weiss, 1991). US gold medal diver Greg Louganis came out at the

1994 Games in New York. His videotaped words, "It's great to be out and proud" drew thunderous applause at the Opening Ceremonies in New York (Louganis in Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p. 233).

Three weeks later, Louganis received an award for fairness, commitment to excellence, and dedication to sport and athletics from the USOC. When he accepted the honour, Louganis dedicated it to the late Dr. Tom Waddell, characterising Waddell to the pro-Olympic crowd as founder of the Gay Games, US Olympic athlete, and victim of AIDS. The reception from the American Olympic pundits was less than enthusiastic. Tom Waddell not only haunted the Gay Games, but he continued to be invoked within the circles of American Olympic power. It was at this US Olympic Festival in St. Louis, where Louganis also called on the USOC to remove any Olympic events or activities out of Cobb County, Georgia where homophobic, anti-sodomy laws had recently been revived and supported. Louganis, in the Foreword to *The Gay Olympian*, suggested that he felt like he knew Waddell, through an affinity with being a gay man in elite athletics, and by reading his story. He thought Waddell would have approved of his call to boycott Cobb County (Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

The Gay Games founder has been thoroughly symbolised to represent a certain vision for the event. Tom Waddell's memory has been incorporated melancholically and the traces of him have been brought forward and writ large over this massive event. The Gay Games have been unable to give up both the ideal of the Olympics and the object of Tom Waddell. Judith Butler (1990, 1997) suggests that the losses must be melancholically incorporated as a precondition to mourning. The attempts to symbolically remember Tom Waddell - the trophy, the coins, his daughter, the unrelenting invocation of his philosophies and ideals - are attempts to mourn the man and let him go. This complicated grieving, however, cannot just be understood through a mourning process that allows for Waddell's

death. It cannot bring closure for the Gay Games, as the mourning can only be operationalised as an effect of a previous melancholic identification.

While the attempts to remember him symbolically may point toward a letting go, it also functions to keep Waddell 'alive' psychically and the unspoken denial of his loss is represented through the public, social manifestations of homage to the 'great man'. The strategic and poignant representations of Waddell's daughter, Jessica, suggest that the Gay Games organisation has been unable to give up the object. The next closest thing to the actual lost object of Waddell is his own flesh and blood, the biological, genetic progeny that comes to represent him, but of course is not him. A naturalised, teleological discourse of the human condition is subtly reinscribed through this incorporative process.

The ego ideal and ideal ego: A two for one deal

The figure of Tom Waddell watches over the Gay Games in a never ending and contradictory haunting. The effects and traces of Waddell's legacy continue to inform the Gay Games. What dynamics are operating to sustain this memory? How do the Gay Games hold onto Tom Waddell, never letting their lost object go? One way of reading Waddell's haunting is to consider, in a Lacanian sense, how the figure of Tom Waddell functions to mediate between the ego ideal and ideal ego of the Gay Games organisation[4]. Within a Lacanian psychoanalytic

[4] I *think* I am grateful to jan jagodzinski for suggesting I work through the idea of Waddell as mediator between ego ideal and ideal ego. It has been a struggle, but a fruitful one I suppose. Engaging the work of Slavoj Žižek (and therefore by extension Jacques Lacan) is terror-filled for me, for I rarely understand anything of what either of them is trying to convey. Theory terror is productive however. As Doug Aoki (1999b) put it during a graduate course, "what is difficult about psychoanalytic theory is that it talks about the constitution and displacement of absolutely crucial things in our lives". Being in control and really knowing about what it is I am talking is absolutely crucial to me. Engaging psychoanalytic theory (Freudian or Lacanian) does not engender feelings of control or competence in me, and hence is difficult and scary. Žižek (1989) outlines how the ego ideal and ideal ego function in his book *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. I *know* I am very grateful to Michelle Helstein for helping me access some of this theory, through her explanation of Žižek's ideas to me.

framework, the two concepts of ego ideal and ideal ego relate, respectively, to two of the Lacanian orders, the symbolic and the imaginary. The symbolic is primarily a linguistic dimension in which cultural and social realms are produced through the functioning of language. The subject is a symbolic construction. The imaginary order is a specular realm, dominated by the image, typically an ideal image from which all humans are inescapably alienated. "Lacan places a special emphasis on the role of the image, defining identification as the 'transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image'. To 'assume' an image is to recognise oneself in the image, and to appropriate the image as oneself." (Evans, 1996, p.81) This is the basis of the fable of the mirror stage, that dynamic by which the ego is constituted, and which "represents a permanent structure of subjectivity, the paradigm of the imaginary order" (Evans, 1996, p.115; Leader & Groves, 1995; Žižek, 1989).

The human infant is radically dependent and not a pre-given totality. To survive, it must attach to a primary caregiver (in the patriarchal culture of Freud and Lacan, this, of course, is the mother figure). As the infant matures and starts to differentiate, psychoanalysis suggests certain dynamics occur in which the ego and ultimately, the subject are produced. During the mirror stage, the child sees in its reflection a complete wholeness, plenitude. That image may be reflected in an actual mirror or the baby may see itself reflected in the primary caregiver or another child. This *méconnaissance* is not to be read as a literal act necessarily, but understood as a trope for necessary misrecognitions that will occur continuously throughout a subject's life.

The child recognises in this inversion, a reflection of the perfect union of caregiver and child, and then realises a fundamental split between the reflection and themselves. They misrecognise themselves in the mirrored image (understood as wholeness, unity, totality - the perfect fulfilment of desire), cognisant of a disjuncture between their reality and the reflection. The reflected image of bond

between child and caregiver is idealised in the imaginary as that ideal, blissful state where the child's every need, want, and desire is fulfilled completely with the caregiver. The domain of the desired image is the imaginary order, the psychic realm where the ego is produced over and over again through identifications with desired objects and ideals (Aoki, 1999a; 1999b; Evans, 1996; Leader & Groves, 1995; Žižek, 1989).

The child recognises itself from a position of otherness in the split between its inadequacy and the reflection of perfection. "The child identifies with an image outside him[/her]self" (Leader & Groves, 1995, p.21). The ego is the result of identifying with the image of themself as whole. The dissonance between the two (wholeness and the uncoordinated 'baby' body) is alienating, as the child desires to perceive itself as the counterpart. The child realises that the body they have in relation to the idealised image of the Imaginary mirror phase is an incomplete body, which they experience as a fragmented body. For the infant, the contrast is felt as a threat, which "gives rise to an aggressive tension between the subject and the image" (Evans, 1996, p.115). The subject is split from itself, and the desire to fulfil the unity of the caregiver/child union propels the child into language. In attempting to signify its desire for the fulfilment of plenitude (the mirrored image), the child is subjected to the Law, becoming a subject within the symbolic order (Evans, 1996; Leader & Groves, 1995; Žižek, 1989).

The mirror phase is the primary identification producing the ego in the imaginary order. A secondary identification must occur for "the passage from the imaginary order to the symbolic order", and this secondary identification concludes the Oedipus complex (Evans, 1996, p.127). In the contentious Oedipal complex, it is suggested that the child realises that s/he cannot fulfil the primary caregiver's (typically the mother's) imagined desire beyond the child itself (represented by the

phallus[5]), because the Name of the Father (the symbolic law, language, the nom/non du père) *has* the phallus, and is neither sharing nor exchanging it. This prohibition relieves the child of the responsibility of trying to *be* the phallus to fulfil the mother's desire, and instead, the child identifies, (through a forced prohibition in the so-called 'castration complex') with the Name of the Father (entry into language, the symbolic order, subjecthood). "The phallus represents what we lose in entering the world of language - the fact the message will always be slipping away, that what we want will always be out of reach because of the fact that we speak" (Leader & Groves, 1995, p. 99). Lack (of unity or wholeness) propels the subject into language to attempt to attain that original desire for the ideal. The subject continues to misrecognise their ideal, and now attempts to fulfil that lack through language in the symbolic order. Language, in its constant deferrment of meaning, cannot fulfil the desire. The reflected unity of wholeness is an unattainable ideal, which is paradoxically ordered and stabilised from within the symbolic order (Evans, 1996; Leader & Groves, 1995).

The ideal ego and ego ideal each emerge out of the production of the ego (an imaginary identification) and the subject (a symbolic identification). "The mirror stage constitutes the 'primary identification' and gives birth to the ideal ego" (Evans, 1996, p. 81). The ideal ego is the spectacle offered to the gaze. It is the image that is to be seen, the image you want to have of yourself. For the Gay Games, the primary identification is with an ineluctable ideal of a Gay Olympics.

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[5] Phallus is a difficult and disputatious term. I have resisted agreeing to its use for a long time. Suffice it to say, that in a Lacanian sense, the phallus is not the penis. In the imaginary, it is the object that the mother desires beyond the child, and which the child, in the preoedipal phase, attempts to 'be', however it is always out of the child's reach. "The child is trying to be the object which it thinks the mother lacks. The phallus is just the name for this object: that which the mother lacks" (Leader & Groves, 1995, p. 103). In the symbolic, the phallus becomes the ultimate signifier that has no specular image. It is this phallus that is 'castrated' from the child, differentiating him/her from the mother and propelling the child into symbolic subjecthood, beyond the imaginary realm of mother and child. The phallus "is described as the 'signifier of the desire of the Other', and the signifier of *jouissance*" (Evans, 1996, p. 142). Certain feminists have denounced Lacan's use of phallus as reinscribing patriarchal privilege. Derrida has critiqued the notion of a transcendental signifier as simply another form of the metaphysics of presence, repeating a system of thought that is phallogocentric (Evans, 1996; Leader & Groves, 1995).

The Gay Games' ideal ego is a utopic vision of a celebration of out and proud homosexual athleticism that is accorded the same status and grandeur as the International Olympics. In 1982, the organisation had the experience of alienation and fragmentation when they considered what they actually were - a small, shoestring organisation being mercilessly and homophobically hounded by the USOC.

The figure of Tom Waddell represents in many interesting ways the ideal ego for the Gay Games. Waddell embodied the image of the gay Olympian at the 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympics. It was made into the romanticised image the Gay Games needed for its primary identification. Waddell was an extremely charismatic, likeable and articulate man. He was able to transmit his ideal of a Gay Olympics full of other Gay Olympians in Technicolor for others, particularly other lesbian and gay athletes. He loved being an Olympic athlete. In imaginary identification (the ideal ego), identification occurs "with the image in which we appear likeable to ourselves, with the image representing 'what we would like to be'" (Žižek, 1989, p. 105). The image of 'what the Gay Games would like to be' is identified with Waddell's love for the Olympic movement, his success as an Olympic athlete, and after his death, the connection of successful (gay) Olympic athletes to the Gay Games, all of who constantly pay homage to the path blazed by Tom Waddell. The Gay Games really wanted (and wants) to be (to identify with) a utopic Gay Olympics.

While Waddell has been cast as the symbol of a Gay Olympian, the fact was, at the time of the 1968 Summer Olympics, Waddell was a very closeted fag. In the formation of the ideal ego, "the feature, the trait on the basis of which we identify with someone, is usually hidden - it is by no means necessarily a glamorous feature" (Žižek, 1989, p. 105). While the image of a very out and proud Gay Olympics seems to make up the ideal ego, it is the illusion of pride that is necessarily propped up by homophobic, queer shame. Žižek (1989) suggests that

weakness or guilt can act as identifying traits. I would add shame to that list of possibilities, as it is the necessity of a shaming athletic and sporting establishment that even makes possible the need for the dream of an ideal Gay Olympics.

"Imaginary identification is always identification *on behalf of a certain gaze in the Other*... The question to ask is: 'For whom is the subject enacting this role? Which gaze is considered when the subject identifies himself with a certain image'" (Žižek, 1989, p. 106, emphasis in the original)? In the case of the Gay Games and their ideal ego of a Gay Olympics, the gaze they are trying to attract, the gaze that they are considering, is the gaze of approval from the conventional, international Olympics. The early Gay Games spent much promotional energy representing the event as a serious amateur athletic competition. Sanctioning of each athletic event, the use of certified officials and the promotion of serious elite athletes who agreed to participate, indicated that the Gay Games were able to attract serious competition and were an athletic event of note. The downplaying of sexuality throughout the Games (best represented in the discourse of 'we are more than just our (homo)sexuality') may in part be motivated through an attempt to consider the gaze of the international Olympic community. The discourse produced is one of 'even though we're gay, we're still worth endorsing because we are serious amateur athleticism'.

Waddell's figure plays an interesting role here as well. In the late 1960s he was on contract with the USOC as a medical advisor - a role that indicated some level of approval by the governing body. Depending on which archival narrative is privileged, one of the stories about the very early organising stages of Gay Games I is that Waddell initiated contact and wrote the USOC to request their approval of his use of the word 'Olympic'. And a Gay Olympics primary identification was maintained (maintaining the shame/pride binary construction) even after the USOC request is denied. Those who were able to use the word 'Olympic' (local politicians, authors of letters to the editor, etc.) after the court injunction, were

encouraged to do so. Waddell fervently believed in and wanted 'true' Olympism to be part of his event and he wanted that similarity recognised publicly in the Gay Olympics. His identification with the Olympics is poignantly reflected in his statement made weeks before his death, just after the Supreme Court made its ruling. "Why are gay people the only people in the world who can't use it [the word 'Olympic']" (Repa, 1987, p. 20)? This followed tough talk from a year earlier, when Waddell vowed that even if they could use the word, they wouldn't (Coe, 1986). In 1993, a little over ten years after the first Games, the Federation of Gay Games was hosted by the USOC at the USOC's invitation, a shift that was hailed as a major breakthrough in the maturity of the Gay Games.

Another way to understand "identifying on behalf of a certain gaze in the Other" is to consider what the gaze does in terms of producing the ideal ego. The Gay Games identified with the Olympics through an idealised Gay Olympics, and have fashioned themselves accordingly to try to gain their approval ever since. The gaze of the Other was not, say, the gaze of a grassroots sports organisation. If the Gay Games had identified with an alternative sporting movement, their ideal ego would have been produced much differently. This hearkens back to my footnote in Part 3. Mary Dunlap's crusade for freeing up the term 'Olympic' to be used for a whole variety of amateur sporting and recreation activities and events, illustrated how there was no identification with that cause. The dream of an emancipated Olympics was Mary Dunlap's alone, and she could carry the cause only so far.

The image of a Gay Olympics is only an imaginary moment. As soon as that primary identification is brought into the symbolic order through a secondary identification (which is necessary to become a subject), it necessarily fails because language in the symbolic, cannot fully express meaning. The "ideal ego is always subordinated to ego ideal: it is the symbolic identification (the point from which we are observed) which dominates and determines the image" (Žižek, 1989, p. 108). In symbolic identification, "identification of the subject with some

signifying feature [or] trait, in the big Other, in the symbolic order" occurs... [The ego ideal] assumes concrete, recognizable shape in a name or in a mandate that the subject takes upon himself and/or is bestowed on him" (Žižek, 1989, p. 104).

The ego ideal was bestowed upon the Gay Games through the prohibition of a Gay Olympics. The Gay Games were brought into language (and being) by the prohibition on the word 'Olympic'. The law, (the literal judicial law of the Supreme Court which represents the Law of the Father - the symbolic law) forced the Gay Games to define themselves according to a network of disciplining symbols outside of an imaginary dyad of Gay (and) Olympics. To become a viable, 'cultural subject', the Gay Games were forced to subjectivate themselves to the symbolic (Leader & Groves, 1995). The law does not forbid the Gay Games, only the Gay Olympics. The ego ideal (symbolic identification) was then produced through identification with what remains and that was gay pride (in a myriad of manifestations) at the Gay Games. The law facilitates the production of the event:

> The constitution of the ego by identification with something which is outside (and even against) the subject is what 'structures the subject as a rival with himself' and thus involves aggressivity and alienation... Symbolic identification is the identification with the father [being named, brought into language] in the final stage of the Oedipus Complex which gives rise to the formation of the ego-ideal. It is by means of this secondary identification that the subject transcends the aggressivity inherent in the primary identification (Evans, 1996, p.81).

The primary identification with a Gay Olympics was in contradistinction to the gay pride of the Gay Games. As they tried to emulate the international Olympics, the small, shoestring organisation felt alienated. It was transcended by the subject of the Gay Games, which produced an evermore-successful event, almost approximating (but never quite completely) Olympic splendour. The secondary

(symbolic) identification with gay pride effectively transcends the alienation felt in the original identification by a fledgling queer organisation identifying with an Olympic edifice. The celebration of the Gay Games is predicated upon gay pride, but the event disavows carefully and fastidiously any formal Olympic connection. A Gay Olympics is foreclosed, meaning it cannot return in the symbolic, and Gay Games pride is about the Gay Games and not about the Olympics. "Since the symbolic is the realm of the law, and since the Oedipus complex is the conquest of the symbolic order, it has a normative and normalising function" (Evans, 1996, p. 129). The prohibition on Olympic clearly illustrates the Name of the Father prohibiting the subject from having the phallus, which in this case, is the dream of a Gay Olympics. I will return in future sections to elaborate on the disciplinary effects of the symbolic realm upon the Gay Games.

The ego ideal, as symbolic identification, is "identification with the very place *from where* we are being observed, *from where* we look at ourselves so that we appear to ourselves likeable, worthy of love" (Žižek, 1989, p. 105). The Gay Games must observe themselves from a place of gay pride so that the Gay Games can recuperate and celebrate queer athleticism in the symbolic order[6]. The ego

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[6] For the Gay Games to be read as viable for the importance of homosexual existence, the necessity of the place of the ego ideal as gay pride was hammered home to me while leading an undergraduate Sociology of Sport seminar. A pair of brave third year students volunteered to present the seminar on sexuality that was part of a third year sociology of sport course. I was the seminar leader who had no involvement in the course or seminar topic development. As part of their presentation, the student leaders suggested that the Gay Games were a place where lesbian and gay athletes could compete without having to be in the closet. The impassioned responses from several students are worth repeating. "The Gay Games used to be called the Gay Olympics, didn't they? Why do gays think they can be as good as the real Olympics, there is no way they can even come close. It's just a place for not very good athletes to get medals. Why don't they compete in the real Olympics if they think they're so good." Other misconceptions about the Gay Games (why should gay people have a special event – it's special treatment, it's not fair that they don't let straight people compete, etc.) were asserted as truth. The inevitable comment "I'm not homophobic or anything but the thought of a gay guy in the showers with me just grosses me out" was the actual homophobic coup de grace. For these homophobic students, the place of the ego ideal in their identifications with the Gay Games was absolutely not a position of gay pride. Their identifications were in a much more fraught place, where pride was being held at bay.

ideal is gay pride that matches and even rivals the intensity of Olympic pride, glamour and discipline. The ego ideal is sustained through the specular images of athletic pride that is put on vibrant display at every Gay Games spectacle.

Tom Waddell, as the founder and main organiser of the inaugural Gay Games, celebrated gay pride at every point in the first event. As Heather Zwicker (2002) recently pointed out, pride is, among other things, about not backing down, and Waddell absolutely did not retreat from repeated and serious threats from the USOC. The ego ideal of Gay Games pride was situated in Tom Waddell's vision of gay pride. And when the living version of Waddell was no longer present, the measure of gay pride has often been accounted for in appeals to Waddell's memory and vision for the Gay Games. Almost every major decision and policy direction the FGG has taken, has been justified through invoking Waddell's philosophy and how that aligns with his vision of gay pride through organised athleticism. I elaborate upon this point with further examples in the next part of this section.

The figure of Tom Waddell functions as a psychic 'good bargain' for the Gay Games as he is a 'two-fer' - a two for one deal. He appears to inhabit both the ideal ego and the ego ideal. To sustain identification, the necessary illusion is that the ideal ego and the ego ideal cohere, but it is an illusion - an identification that is based on misrecognition. While Waddell's figure seems to embody both the ideal ego and ego ideal simultaneously, there is a constant slipping back and forth of a metonymic dance between a Gay Games pride and a Gay Olympics dream propped up by a shaming Olympics. The ego ideal is the position from which you can be misrecognised as your ideal ego. It would only be from a position of Gay Games gay pride (the ego ideal) that the Gay Games would (mis)recognise themselves as the utopic Gay Olympics, and each of the ego ideal and ideal ego could use Tom Waddell to support either purpose.

In imaginary identification, we "imitate the other at the level of resemblance... We identify ourselves with the image of the other inasmuch as we are 'like him'" (Žižek, 1989, p. 109). The Other the Gay Games desires to imitate - to be 'like them' - is the International Olympic Games. Over against imaginary identification however, is symbolic identification in which we "identify ourselves with the other precisely at a point at which he is inimitable, at the point which eludes resemblance" (Žižek, 1989, p. 109). The Gay Games enter the symbolic realm right at the point that the Olympics are prohibited for them. They are too queer, too threatening and must be made abject. The Olympics must become inimitable for the Gay Games. For at the point that an imaginary identification is fulfilled within the symbolic, psychosis occurs (Leader & Groves, 1995). But the ego ideal identification with gay pride supplants the Olympic dream to produce a proud Gay Games identification. "This interplay of imaginary and symbolic identification under the domination of symbolic identification constitutes the mechanism by means of which the subject is integrated into a given socio-symbolic field - the way he/she assumes certain mandates" (Žižek, 1989, p. 110).

One of the main mandates of the Oedipal moment is to produce sexual difference within and between subjects. While it may seem odd to gender the Gay Games through an Oedipal phase, ultimately it is a patriarchal organisation. The formation of the ego ideal is the culmination of the Oedipal identification with the Father (Butler, 1990; Evans, 1996). The ego ideal is related to the judging superego. "The superego is an unconscious agency whose function is to repress sexual desire for the mother, whereas the ego-ideal exerts a conscious pressure towards sublimation and provides the coordinates which enable the subject to take up a sexual position as a man or a woman" (Evans, 1996, p. 52). As I will outline in detail in the next part of this section, the figure of the mother in the Oedipal complex functions as shaming Olympism in the production of the Gay Games. The Gay Games' superego represses the shame (of the shaming Olympics) that is an integral part of the constitutive moment for the event. Olympism must also be

repressed. The ego ideal, as gay pride at the Gay Games, identifies with the 'gay' half of the prohibited Gay Olympics. In the next section, I will outline how the father figure for the Gay Games is gay pride. Gay pride (standing in for the father) must be identified with, while the sacred Olympics, representing the phallus the Gay Games cannot have, is let go by the male child. In the production of a male subject, the Law of the Father holds out the promise that someday the male child will get the phallus back - will have the phallus - but that, implicitly, it must be given up now (Leader & Groves, 1995). The Gay Games shall continue to seek the promise of the fulfilment of the Olympic phallus. In the Part II of this section, I outline how the Gay Games continue to function as a place of male privilege and patriarchal power connections which I have just read as gendering the organisation as male.

Waddell's loss works in complicated ways and functions (contradictorily at times) to support and mediate between the ideal ego and ego ideal, subtly guiding the formation and trajectory of Gay Games discourse. His memory functions as an ambiguous imago (Butler, 1993). According to Evans, imagos evoke feelings and are "specifically images of other people (Jung mentions paternal... imagos), but are universal prototypes which may actualise in anyone's psyche. Imagos act as stereotypes influencing the way the subject relates to other people" (1996, p. 84). The Gay Games subject is the out, proud, gay athlete and Waddell's imago insistently governs its representations. He is lurking in the ideal ego of a utopic Gay Olympics, of which he almost embodied and attempted to create. As ego ideal, Waddell decidedly urges gay athletic pride on, being in his life and his death, one of the Gay Games' loudest pride cheerleaders.

There are of course cracks in the symbolic identifications of Waddell with gay pride however. The unsullied hero of the Games, Waddell's memory has been tarnished a few times. In 1988, Bill Mandel noted that Tom Waddell was becoming a "larger-than-life, two-dimensional icon" that was already becoming

remembered for one thing only, becoming a bronzed symbol (p. A-5). His identification with Gay Games pride was well established. Mandel nostalgically missed the Waddell with the wicked sense of humour and the obsessive desire for neatness.

The only other serious crack in Waddell's facade (the only time that the ego ideal as collective, united gay pride breaks down) showed up in a letter to Derek Liecty (a SFAA board member) from Mary Dunlap just before the Supreme Court hearing in 1987. Dunlap was informing Liecty that she had guaranteed him a seat at the hearing:

> PLEASE DO NOT TELL ANYONE (PARTICULARLY TOM, OTHER BOARD MEMBER OR OTHERS CLOSE TO THEM) THAT I HAVE DONE YOU THIS COURTESY. THESE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN VERY PUSHY ABOUT GETTING THEMSELVES INTO THE COURT, AT THE COST OF ALL OTHERS. I HAVE DIVIDED THE 6 GUARANTEED SEATS WITH TOM. HE HAS THREE, AND I HAVE THREE. I do not want to have any discussion, engagement or other exchange with Tom or anyone else about this before the Court hearing (or ever, if I had my way) (Dunlap, 1987a, p.1. Capitals in the original).

This example of vehement frustration expressed towards Waddell is very rare. It is the only small crack in the Waddell image in all of the archival material at which I looked. One might think that Waddell really was the perfect social justice, intellectual, athletic sophisticate, except for the urgency with which his memory is kept intact and unsullied, and for how his philosophic dreams for the Gay Games have been constantly challenged, manipulated, and transmogrified through the subsequent stagings of the event.

Section III: The psychic conditions of possibility

Part Two - Subjectivating the Gay Games: Incorporation and Melancholic Gay Pride

So, how shall I make sense of the Gay Games story thus far? Elspeth Probyn has provided an interesting starting point. "One of the most striking features of the narratives of gay pride...is the way in which pride operates as a necessity, an ontology of gay life that cannot admit its other" (Probyn, 2000, p. 19). The 'other' that Probyn refers to is shame, queer shame, which must be foreclosed and disavowed. In the story of the emergence of the Gay Games phenomenon, prohibition and loss occur profoundly and quickly in its emergence. The Games were never allowed to formally occur as the Gay Olympics. This foreclosure occurred when the USOC gained the court-enforced prohibition on the Gay Games use of the word 'Olympic'.

The foreclosure on the Gay Olympics produced the Gay Games. "Distinguished from repression understood as an action by an already-formed subject, foreclosure is an act of negation that founds and forms the subject" (Butler, 1997, p. 212-213, n.3). The 'Gay Games' were founded through the interdiction on the word 'Olympic'. Dressed up in the facade of trademark protection from start to finish, the loss of the word 'Olympic' for the Gay Games was predicated on the dilution of Olympic virtue. The purity of the pristine Olympic ideal would be fouled by the queer abject, and queer shame in not being subject enough to merit sanction and blessing would be resedimented yet again. Although the cry of discrimination was given the juridical discursive space to be uttered (by Mary Dunlap at the Supreme Court hearing), it was never countenanced, the hail was not acknowledged or legitimated[1]. And, three weeks after this denial of discursive space, the most

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[1] In a piece she wrote before the Justices rendered their decision, Mary Dunlap (1987a) made these emancipatory claims. "WE changed the Supreme Court on March 24, 1987. We who went there to carry a plea for non-discrimination and 'justice' for lesbians, gay men and other sexually identified minorities also carried new experiences for the Court. I believe that the US Supreme Court will never listen to gay/lesbian rights causes as ignorantly, fearfully, or misinformedly again, and that

visible and public target/hero of that shaming Olympic ban, Dr. Thomas Waddell, died of AIDS-related causes.

The state foreclosure on naming queer shame and the refusal of Tom Waddell's loss and his Olympic dreams were incorporated. To say " 'foreclosed' [is] to suggest that that it is a preemptive loss, a mourning for unlived possibilities" (Butler, 1997, p.139). In the world of the Gay Games, melancholic identifications of non-stop invocations of personal best, emancipation and a brighter tomorrow were the Olympic-related traces of the "unlived possibilities". The Gay Games could not, and still cannot, admit its shameful other symbolically, but it constitutively haunts the project through melancholic incorporation as gay pride.

Judith Butler (1997) describes gender melancholia as how the ego is produced through identifications with ungrieved lost objects or ideals. The prohibition on the use of the word 'Olympic', the homophobic shame which is implicit in that loss, and the death of the Gay Games founder Tom Waddell all form complicated metonymic relationships as lost objects and ideals for the Gay Games. The Gay Games organisation (and its own developing hegemonic discourses) is formed in and through identifications with these lost objects/ideals and brings those losses into its 'ego', thus becoming it. While Butler refers to the psychic incorporations of individual subjects, an account of the Gay Games and its discourses of loss provide many symptoms of a melancholic organisation that implicitly is comprised of melancholic subjects. As Butler suggests, psychic processes are

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we will start winning more of these battles, in that and other Courts" (p. 2). "WE changed the Supreme Court on March 24, 1987. Together, we brought and gave: a courtroom filled with caring, polite and attentive people; a sea of pink triangles; an open and apparently proud lesbian advocate speaking clearly, loudly and cogently, using the dread words 'gay and lesbian' comfortably and naturally, over and over, as appropriate; a cause carried to the Court against terrible odds in behalf of a very special group of people, led by Tom Waddell, a gay man whose Olympian struggles as an athlete, a father, a gay person, an activist for inclusiveness in sports, and a person living with AIDS sets a stunning and inspiring example for us all" (p. 3). Within an Althusserian framework, the hail must be responded to in order for the subject to be subjectivated into being (Butler, 1997). The Supreme Court did not accord gays and lesbians subject status as it did not countenance their claims, despite Mary Dunlap's exhortations to the contrary.

imbued and influenced by the social and political contexts in which they occur and the psychic traces which are brought to the external world:

> When certain kinds of losses are compelled by a set of culturally prevalent prohibitions, we might expect a culturally prevalent form of melancholia, one which signals the internalization of the ungrieved and ungrievable homosexual cathexis. And where there is no public recognition or discourse through which such a loss might be named and mourned, then melancholia takes on cultural dimensions of contemporary consequence (1997, p. 139).

I read the continuation, and indeed the flourishing of the Gay Games, as underpinned by complex processes of incorporation. These incorporative processes are absolutely necessary to the Gay Games production as a social phenomenon, and in particular as a gay and lesbian event that is produced through identifications involving shame. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick suggests "[in queer performativity], shame and identity remain in a very dynamic relation to one another, at once reconstituting and foundational" (Sedgwick in Munt, 1998, p.7). The 'ego' of the Gay Games organisation is inescapably sustained by identifications, which are constantly reiterated and contentious. "Ambiguity marks the ego as *imago*, that is, as an identificatory relation. Hence, identifications are never simply or definitively *made* or *achieved*; they are insistently constituted, contested, and negotiated" (Butler, 1993, p. 76).

Within Butler's reworking of Freudian logic, she would suggest that for the Gay Games to emerge (her argument suggests that for any subject to emerge), there must be a melancholic identification, some loss (or prohibition through the instantiation of the Law) that has not been resolved. I now rework Butler's notion of how heterosexuality emerges from a series of prohibitions on homosexuality to

consider how the Gay Games were produced through a series of prohibitions around the Gay Olympics:

> The [Gay Games] must first renounce their love for the [(homophobic) Olympics], and renounce it in such a way that both the aim and the object are foreclosed. The [Gay Games] must not transfer that love onto a substitute [Olympics] figure but renounce the possibility of the [(homophobic) Olympic] attachment itself.... Only on the condition of this foreclosure of [(shaming, homophobic) Olympism] can [gay pride at the Gay Games] become the object of desire, and the [(shaming) Olympics] become the uneasy site of identification. Becoming the [proud Gay Games] within this logic requires repudiating [homophobic Olympism] as a precondition for the [culmination of gay pride] and its fundamental ambivalence.... Indeed the desire for the [homophobic Olympics] is marked by the repudiation of them: The [Gay Games] wants to be the [homophobic Olympics] they can never be (Butler, 1997, p. 137).[2]

The Gay Games, that event which emanates from the prohibited and foreclosed Gay Olympics, were forced (by Supreme Court order) to renounce their attachments to a Gay Olympics, and to the Olympics in general. Since 1982, the organisers of the Games consistently and completely complied with the court orders and have not and do not use any references to 'Olympics', 'Olympiad', 'Citius, Altius, Fortius' or the patented five-ring symbol. Throughout the five years that the legal battle was waged, various organisers, including Tom Waddell, renounced the Olympics, claiming that even if they won the Supreme Court case, they wouldn't use the word anyway (Coe, 1986).

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[2] In Butler's explanation of gender melancholia, references to the mother, woman, femininity and homosexuality all correspond in the heterosexualised matrix to their counterparts of father, man, masculinity and heterosexuality. In my reading of the Gay Games through melancholia, I have equated shame/shaming Olympics/Olympism with the feminised and homosexualised. The notion of the Gay Games and gay pride finds its counterparts in Butler's reading in masculinity, men and

As I suggested in Part 2 of Section II, the most powerful aspect of the forced prohibition was the shame that was implicit in the Supreme Court decision. Unavoidably, the success of the USOC's claim discursively reinscribed the culturally prevalent notion that homosexuals are lesser, they are shameful, they are the abject, and they do not deserve legitimation. The lesbian and gay community of San Francisco spent five years protesting USOC's legal action, denouncing it at all turns as homophobically motivated. That the USOC then won, legitimised the homophobia that the protesters were decrying. Perhaps the best encapsulation of the impotence of the protest (and the potency of the concurrent shaming) was summed up by a palliative, bedridden Waddell. He responded plaintively to the Supreme Court decision just weeks before his death. "Why are gay people the only people in the world who can't use it [the word 'Olympic']" (Repa, 1987, p. 20)?

I argue here that it is shame (and its metonymic relationship to Olympic) that comes to be the uneasy site of identification for the Gay Games. "That attachment becomes subject to a double disavowal, a never having loved, and a never having lost. This 'never-never' thus founds the subject as it were; it is an identity based upon the refusal to avow an attachment and, hence, the refusal to grieve" (Butler, 1997, p.139-140). The attachment is that of wanting to be the Olympics, which ends up representing the shamed sexuality/homophobic shame. The shame is foreclosed in the production of the Gay Games with the prohibition of the word 'Olympic'. The Gay Games never loved the shaming Olympics, and they never lost them either. But in the rejection of Olympic (and the attendant shaming within it), the desire for the Gay Games becomes queer shames' opposite - gay pride, however ambivalent that desire is.

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heterosexuality. When I substitute terms in square brackets in quotes from Butler, it is my reworking of her original using my aforementioned replacements.

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I return to Probyn's quote cited earlier in this part. "Pride operates as a necessity, an ontology of gay life that cannot admit its other." Shame has been lost (with the word 'Olympic') in the external world, only to be internalised and preserved psychically within the Gay Games organisation. Tom Waddell vowed from his deathbed, "This is not over yet" (Repa, 1987, p. 20). He did not realise the extent of the psychic power he was exercising in his portentous statement. The melancholic dynamics produced through the prohibition on the word 'Olympic' and through the death of Tom Waddell have sustained the Gay Games for over twenty years. In the next two parts of Section III I discuss the incorporative identifications that play out through love and hate for the lost objects and ideals.

Section III: The psychic conditions of possibility

Part Three - A love/hate relationship - The first half: The incorporated 'love' for the Olympics

Processes of incorporation are often marked by love/hate relationships. The Gay Games' loss relationships exhibit this polarisation. The prohibited other is taken in and incorporated, "taking on attributes of the other and 'sustaining' the other through magical acts of imitation...this identification is not simply momentary or occasional, but becomes a new structure of identity" (Butler, 1990, p.57-58). The love/hate relationship with the incorporated lost object (the shaming Olympics) plays out in interesting ways for the Gay Games. These material effects are the cathectic manifestations of melancholic psychic traces. "In melancholia, the presence of ambivalence in relation to the [lost] object ... [is evidenced in] countless separate struggles [which] are carried on over the object, in which love and hate contend with each other" (Butler, 1997, p.173].

One reading of the 'love' half of the equation for the Gay Games is that it functions as an unconscious love for the Olympics. I have already discussed how the Gay Games have emulated many of the attributes of the International Olympics through such things as ceremonial flames, torch runs, and international outreach programs. As the Gay Games have continued, they have taken on many more Olympic-style touches. One of the most important of these is how the Gay Games have proceeded to bureaucratically organise themselves. If imitation is the highest form of flattery, the Gay Games clearly express their incorporated love for the international Olympic organisation.

In July of 1989, the SFAA disbanded and the Federation of the Gay Games (FGG) was formed. This was the culmination of a three year process, initiated by Waddell before he died, to organise an international governing board for the Gay Games movement (SFAA Board, 1986b; SFAA Board, 1986d; SFAA Board,

1989) The FGG is responsible for ensuring the continuation of the Gay Games, selecting and entering into legal contracts with host cities, controlling Games' principle and policy, collecting licensing fees, and protecting trademark and logo patents ("Fact sheet', 1994). Its role and purpose is analogous to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), including absolving itself of all financial liabilities and obligations in the case of cost overruns during the individual games (FGG Executive, 1990c). While the FGG demands its licensing fees as one of the first creditors, the local organising committees are left to clean up their debts. The Gay Games have neither broken even nor turned a profit since 1990. The Vancouver Games were left with a large (Cdn $140,000) deficit in 1990. Fundraising appeals from famous Olympian Greg Louganis were initiated to retire a US $400,000 debt after the New York Games in 1994. A massive financial disaster was incurred in 1998 when the Managing Director in Amsterdam misappropriated US $2 million and skipped the country after being charged with tax evasion in a previous business arrangement. If the Dutch government had not covered Stichting's (the Amsterdam organising group) losses, the FGG would have seriously faced bankruptcy in 1998 and 1999 (FGG Executive, 1998d; Grey & Peterson, 1991; Provenzano, 1998; "We need", 1994). As late as July 2001, the 2002 Sydney Games had yet to find a major corporate sponsor, throwing the viability of Gay Games VI into question (H. Zwicker, personal communication, August 18, 2001). In its bureaucratic and financial functioning, the FGG has exhibited many traces of Olympic identification.

As one of two of the most visible public scandals that haunt the international Olympic movement (the other being banned performance enhancer use), Olympic Games site selection decisions expose the corrupt and unfair practices of the IOC (Lenskyj, 2000). In a similar vein, the FGG has been forced to prioritise issues and policy making about site selection for future host cities of the Gay Games. In the fall of 1989, the brand new FGG executive scrambled to fill one of the co-chair positions on the site selection committee, while New York City and Sydney

expressed intent to bid for the 1994 Games ("FGG Executive", 1989b). Conflict of interest issues immediately appeared as long term Gay Games volunteer and FGG executive member, Tom Cracovia, was seriously involved in spearheading New York's bid ("FGG Executive", 1989c).

The bid documents themselves in the early '90s are 30-70 page, stapled or surlocked, photocopied documents, generally outlining event preparedness, and the ability of the host city to accommodate all sites and facilities ("New York in 1994", 1990). As the decade progressed, the bids became even more extensive (often exceeding 150 pages in multiple documents). The bound books, some of them with glossy photo inserts, detailed not only athletic event organisation but receptiveness of total civic community to large gay and lesbian events, how established the gay community was in the bid city, in particular its gay and lesbian sport network, and included letters of endorsement from municipal politicians ("Amsterdam Bid", 1993; "Sydney Bid", 1993).

In an attempt to limit claims or appearances of bribery, delegations from prospective host cities had restrictions placed on the amount of money spent per FGG board member and limits were put on promotional trinkets and paraphernalia (flags, buttons, hats, T-shirts). Direct lobbying was not allowed, hospitality suites verboten, and gifts could not exceed US $25 per board member, each delegate could receive only one gift from each host city, and it had to be given to ALL board members ("FGG Site Selection", 1993; Symons, 1998). In 1993, three cities bid - Atlanta, Amsterdam and Sydney (Peterson & Kennedy, 1993c; Symons, 1998). Very specific rules were established concerning quorum and process, and filing fees had to be in US currency. It cost a city delegation $500 to express their intent to bid, and a $4500 fee when their bid was submitted. The corporate rationalisation of the FGG continued after Amsterdam was selected as the host city for the1998 Games. They entered into a formal annual planning process with the 1994-95 FGG Business Plan. This document outlined seven goals which were

identified to "continue effective and appropriate growth of the Games, and to preserve the integrity of the intent of the Gay Games" ("FGG Business Plan", 1994, p. 1).

In 1997, five cities bid to host the 2002 Games - Dallas, Long Beach/Los Angeles, Montreal, Sydney, and Toronto. Each bidding delegation gave a 45 minute presentation (which was videotaped and transcribed!) to the 45 voting members of the FGG, with specific question periods and discussion following that lasted well over four hours (Labrecque, 1998; Symons, 1998). Interest in the larger gay sport world was generated as bid cities posted aspects of their bid on the web, and commentaries from outside the FGG were made comparing the bids, weighing in on who was the best bet (Clark, 1997). Each city spent at least $150,000 in just staging their bid (Symons, 1998). In the end Sydney was third time lucky, winning the 2002 Games after two previous attempts.

It is interesting to consider the professionalisation and commercialisation of the Gay Games through the three Sydney bid documents. Their first bid in 1990 for the 1994 games was a tatty 30-page document, and compared to New York's bid (which was 71 pages in length), was just not extensive enough ("New York in 1994", 1990; Sydney, 1990). Their bid for the 1998 games, which were awarded to Amsterdam, was at least surlocked, and provided more detail about how the Games would proceed ("Sydney Bid", 1993). The winning bid was amazing. A glossy, professionally packaged and detailed homage to Sydney, its Olympic facilities (interestingly, Atlanta bid to host the 1998 Gay Games on its Olympic-city status as well), and its status as a 'world-class city' are proclaimed from within pages depicting the good life in this purported gay Australian Mecca[1]. A separate

[1] Elspeth Probyn (2000) analysed the winning Sydney bid as enmeshing gay pride with civic pride, in fact, almost representing Sydney as the world's finest gay city. Interestingly, Helen Lenskyj (2000), in a different kind of political project, discusses that when Sydney was bidding for and hosting the 2000 Summer Olympics, any resistance or detraction from Sydney's ability or desire to host the Games was considered to be akin to treason. The organisers of the Gay Games Sydney bid tapped into a well-practised civic pride by 'queering' (gently) Sydney's well-known geography to

100-page Venue Plan document detailed the organisational aspects of how the sport and culture programs would be produced in conjunction with the full support of various gay and lesbian community organisations and municipal and state endorsement ("2002 Sydney", 1997).

While the bidding scandals that have plagued the IOC are larger and more publicised, the FGG has had its own problems (Lenskyj, 2000). Both organisations attempt to be transparent in their process and provide much rhetoric as to how 'fairness' will be insured. With the recent naming of Belgian Jacques Rogge as the new president of the IOC in 2001, renewed charges of an unfair European ruling oligarchy have been levelled at the international committee. The FGG however has its own problems with a perceived biased oligarchy. During the time period running up to the 2002 Games site decision, grumbling was heard within the organisation about a perceived North American hegemony, still specifically located in the Bay Area. Complaints were made that the 20th anniversary of the Games would necessarily have to be held in North America, and that if the North Americans voted as a block, they could easily hold sway over sites and presidents ("FGG Executive", 1996).

Joe Clark (not to be confused with the erstwhile Canadian Prime Minister!), an independent journalist, gay sports advocate, and polemic critic, posted extensive notes on his website comparing the five bids for the 2002 Games. He chastised the FGG for not making bid documents public and suggested that the FGG was even more secretive and insular than the dreaded IOC in their conducting of the bid process. In his commentary, Clark accused the FGG decision makers as being predominantly represented by North American interests for the Gay Games. Clark (1997) contended that "Americentric FOGG members, who preach superficial

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sell the idea to a mainstream population. "Photos of sumptuous gay and lesbian bodies are beautifully photographed lounging on Sydney's iconographical bits" (Probyn, 2000, p. 19). Gay Games VI in Sydney used the Olympic site facilities, piggy backing on the destructive development projects that wiped out several low-income housing communities and disregarded Australian Aborigine culture (Lenskyj, 2000).

internationalism" would prevail in the decision making process (p. 2). In fact, the first non- American FGG board member was elected at the 1997 AGM (Symons, 1998). Clark fanned the flames of the fire by pointedly noting that the FGG had threatened to sue him for liable, based on his very public and opinionated analysis of how the FGG was (or was not) handling the bidding process (Clark, 1997).[2]

The problem of a perceived American, and specifically a Bay Area, California bias, has dogged the FGG from the beginning. Attempts to invite or attract 'foreign' members were unsuccessful and they decided to maintain a bank account and financial officers in San Francisco for pragmatic reasons that produced geographic diversity and access issues ("FGG Executive", 1989a, 1989d). They tried to internationalise by holding AGMs outside of North America, encouraging international gay and lesbian sporting organisations such as the EGSF - European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation to join the Federation of Gay Games, and by developing elaborate formulae to subsidise travel for international delegates (FGG Executive, 1989e). Despite these attempts at equity, some Europeans still complained that the organisation was still too firmly entrenched in North America with its attendant traditions. For example, complaints were lodged that large North American style meetings go well beyond just a meeting. The spectacle of

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[2] As a funny aside, Clark has described me (unknowingly) as a self-satisfied 'International Lesbian Haircut'. In November, 1997, just weeks before the FGG announced that Sydney was chosen to host Gay Games VI, Clark and I were both in attendance at the North American Society for Sport Sociology Conference in Toronto. On another web page of his (http://www.fawny.org/nasss.html), he has diarised notes of the sessions he attended at that conference. I had visited his Bid Comparisons site just before the conference and during a session entitled "Girljocks and Faeries: Staging Sexuality and Gender in Sport", I suspected that he was the individual asking contentious questions and making bellicose comments. What he would likely characterise as germane and astute questions, and what I surmised as entitled, self-satisfied, white gay boy platitudes fired to piss off the second wave sport feminists (or, International Lesbian Haircuts à la Clark), tipped me off that he just might be 'the Joe Clark'. Out of sheer curiosity I asked him who he was. This is how he characterises that meeting. "As the session drew to a close, one of the haircuts came over and asked me, 'Are you the Joe Clark with the Gay Games homepage?' 'Yup.' She nodded with self-satisfaction, as if to say "Ha! I knew it," and stalked out, grinning to her friend" (Clark, 2002, p. 9). While my haircut obviously signified to Joe that I must be one of the "standard, liberal feminist knee jerk reactionary" (Clark, 2002, p. 9) types, I would be curious to read his assessment of this dissertation! I wonder what kind of hairdos queer poststructuralists sport? I would like to thank Michelle Helstein for confirming my identity as an International Lesbian Haircut with me, and finding the website in the first place!

elaborate fundraising dinners, events and activities all occur in locations, with time lines, and in a currency which all disadvantage non-US citisens ("Team Frankfurt", 1997).

Subtle forms of Western (and often specifically North American) imperialism in the Gay Games organisation crystallised during the 1998 Gay Games in Amsterdam. The FGG prided itself on moving the Games out of North America for the first time and claimed it as a success in their initiative to internationalise the gay and lesbian sport movement. In Amsterdam's successful 1993 bid, they highlighted how there would be no language problem because the official language of Gay Games V would be English. Ostensibly, this was to accommodate the Gay Games' transition to Europe ("Amsterdam Bid", 1993). What remained unspoken in this capitulation were the strategic choices that the Amsterdam bidding group made in the face of competition from other cities. Amsterdam had unsuccessfully bid for the 1994 Games and learned in 1993 to make the bid appeal as much as possible to the majority North American FGG voting membership.

Since the inception of the Federation's Request For Proposals for Prospective Host Organisations (RFP for PHO) process (FGG Executive, 1989e; FGG Site Selection, 1993), every bidding organisation had outlined how they would enact Tom Waddell's vision for international harmony and understanding. Bidding organisations detailed how they would reach out to global communities and include Third World nations in their Gay Games. Amsterdam's 1993 bid was no exception:

> The cultural program will express and reconfirm the global and multicultural diversity of the arts in the various countries and gay and lesbian communities.... Music, dance, the culinary and visual arts...need no

> languages and they give us the opportunity for communication and friendship without words ("Amsterdam Bid", 1993, p.74).

One of the FGG's public relations successes during the conflict and scandal ridden 1998 Games, was to jointly 'sponsor', with Stichting, the Amsterdam organising committee, about 300 gay and lesbian participants from "Third World or non-western lands" (van Bommel, 1998, p. 3). Amsterdam's organising committee set themselves a very specific goal for their outreach efforts early in their organising process. In their Business Plan from April 1996, they stated, "to strive for world-wide emancipation and integration, 375 participants must be drawn from a number of specific territories. These are the so-called outreach countries" (in van Bommel, 1998, p. 3). The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the European Commission, and two large corporate sponsors provided funding.

Selection criteria for these sponsored, outreach participants included ensuring that equal numbers of men and women would be invited, that a large geographical area would be represented, and that the candidates would participate in the Games in one of three programs - the Sport Program as an athlete or official, in the Cultural Program, or the Social Issues Programs. Candidates would be involved in their local or national gay and lesbian movement, and would be committed to returning to their homeland to share the experience of the Gay Games and disseminating the knowledge they had gained. Candidates were identified and proposed in three ways. There were several partner organisations involved in the Social Issues program including Amnesty International, local Amsterdam universities, HIV/AIDS organisations, trade union coalitions, and other gay and lesbian social justice groups. Over half of the sponsored individuals were recruited through these partner organisations (van Bommel, 1998). The FGG Outreach Committee had been making international contacts with various lesbian and gay sporting organisations and individual athletes since the early 1990s (Liecty & Mart, 1991; Mart & Liecty, 1992; "Outreach", 1994). With decisions made in conjunction with

the 1998 male co-chair for Sport, several teams and individual athletes competed in the1998 Games as guests of the organisers. Approximately 80 athletes represented countries such as Russia, Slovakia, Argentina, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Nicaragua, and Brazil. The Cultural Program attracted several artists including a mixed chorus from South Africa, photographers from Eastern Europe, and artists from Brazil and the Philippines among others (van Bommel, 1998).

After revelations of corrupt management that overspent by nearly $2 million in the opening days of the Fifth Gay Games, the success of the outreach program was a welcome bright spot to put into media play. The FGG, in a press release sent out one day after the Games had ended, noted that 1 million Dutch television viewers had watched the opening ceremonies, that there were nearly 15,000 participants from 88 countries and that 300-odd 'sponsored' guests had attended from non-Western countries courtesy of the organisers ("FGG Press Release", 1998). This parading about for the international press of the exotic queer natives from 'developing nations' reeked of imperialistic, Western hegemony, but it also spoke to the Gay Games as a site where sex, nation and capital collide in complicated and explosive ways (Probyn, 2000).

No matter how altruistic the motives, the effects remained dubious. The outreach program was highlighted near the beginning of the Official Program given to all attendees and participants ("Official Program", 1998). In conversation with friends of mine who went to Amsterdam for the Games it became apparent that they knew about the sponsored guests and that they were, from my friends' perspective, some of the only non-white bodies in attendance (L. Pratch & L. McFayden, personal communication, November 23, 2001). Helen Lenskyj (2000) described the International Olympics discourse as using an "exploitative 'zoo' approach to racial minorities" where, in a piece promoting the Sydney Olympics, "a beaming IOC president Samaranch is resting his hand on the bare shoulder of a

young Aboriginal dancer" (p. 76).[3] While the Gay Games were not so blatantly colonial in their representations, the underlying imperialistic narrative remained intact. Notwithstanding all of the measures put in place to ensure equity between international geographic regions, the attempts did not address the fundamental problems of white Western homosexual hegemony.

When he was alive, Tom Waddell was adamant that the Gay Games escape or transcend the petty nationalisms of the modern Olympic Games. Gay Games teams were organised by city in an attempt to disrupt nationalistic tendencies. As the Games have continued in a more globalised world and era, the entrenched discourses of nationalism have crept into his festival. To celebrate increased internationalisation, countries were invoked in a congratulatory grocery list way. The 1994 Gay Games Closing Ceremonies Program actually lists individual American states as participating nations ("Gay Games IV", 1994). The competition and rivalry usually expressed for a nation now played out in city team identifications. Like Pierre de Coubertin (the founder of the modern Olympic games), Waddell created and supported romanticised, enduring beliefs about the Gay Games that harboured other, less admirable discourses:

> For Coubertin, the modern games would become a semireligious festival of order, nobility and taste, a periodic testament to humanity's loftier ideals. In keeping with his sense of ritual, he accorded the winning athletes titles of nobility and charged them with the sacred duty of uniting the world into one international community of mutual respect. Yet beneath the lofty ideals that he espoused lay anxious motives rooted in his French

[3] Mary McDonald (personal communication, March 22, 2001) has suggested to me that in her cursory exposure to representations of the Gay Games, particularly of video footage, her first impression was that the athletes were primarily white-bodied and that the cultural program performers, particularly the headline acts for opening and closing ceremonies, (e.g. Tina Turner (1982), Jennifer Holliday (1986), Patti LaBelle (1994)) were people (women) of colour. Unfortunately, I have to leave the sustained analysis of scopic racial regimes at the Gay Games for another project.

> nationalism and a desire for renewed international leadership, military prowess and masculine fitness (Schaffer and Smith, 2000, p. 2).

While the Gay Games were not and are not obsessed by longing for military prowess, they are haunted with issues of nationalism, international recognition and sexism. Overcoming its masculinist image has been one of its largest challenges.

From their inauguration in 1982, the Gay Games have actively encouraged and recruited women to participate in equal ways with men as both organisers and athletes. Tom Waddell was adamant that gender equity be prioritised. It was one of the ways in which the Gay Games rhetorically set themselves apart from the international Olympics. The IOC is notoriously sexist, with very few female IOC members and the organisation effectively being an exclusive old boys club. Male athletes and events for men still far outnumber the opportunities for women in the Olympic Games (Lenskyj, 2000; Lopiano, 2000). On the face of it, the Gay Games are far less sexist than the Olympics. The functional reality is a bit different, struggling with the same dominant patriarchal patterns and expectations of any other organisation.

Recruitment of female athletic participants for the first Gay Games in 1982 focussed on overcoming the perception that this would be yet another gay male, hypermasculine muscle event. In his weekly columns in the *BAR*, Waddell reinforced over and over again, that the event organisers wanted people, and women in particular, to sign up for the experience of participating. In mid-July 1982, about one month before the start of Gay Games I, there were about 1100 participants signed up:

> This may come as a surprise, but a pleasant one; there are presently only 50 less women than men registered for the Games. That should satisfy the

> critics who feared that the sports would be male-dominated. With the women's outreach program executed by Alita Rosenfeld, Sara Lewinstein, and Chris Puccinelli, it may still be possible for the women to outnumber the men (Waddell, 1982e, p.23).

At the Gay Games, the sporting events for men and women are the same, including the sports represented and the opportunities in each. Since the 1986 Games, the organisational structure has included co-chairs (one male and one female) for every major committee. This gender parity format was enshrined in the original Federation of Gay Games Bylaws, which requires the FGG to have two co-presidents, one female and one male, by law and that policy continues to be in effect. In 1989, the newly created board of the FGG stated that gender parity would be prioritised among the FGG Board and Committee membership. Not only that, but the gender policies of gay and lesbian sport organisations to be invited to join the FGG were to be vetted and those policies were to be considered as part of their suitability for FGG membership ("FGG Board", 1989d). Simply mandating gender parity among the FGG Directors and Officers however has not solved the problem. Board members have had to constantly draw attention to gender equity issues.

For example, Sara Lewinstein has been and still is an active voice for gender parity at the Gay Games. In 1986, while the Board patted itself on the back for guaranteeing equal treatment and length for each of the Male and Female Physique Competition tapes, she asked questions about how the contracted video company for Gay Games II (MEN Video - Male Entertainment Network) was going to have a clue about how to distribute the physique tapes to the women's community (SFAA Board, 1986c). The equity discourse easily slipped into the liberal, patriarchal dogma that maintained a dominant status quo while not acknowledging the necessity for subaltern groups to have their own spaces. In 1986, a group called the Bay Area Career Women (BACW) submitted a proposal

to sponsor Gay Games II. BACW wanted to host a women's dance as a fund-raiser. No men would be allowed. The SFAA Board did not accept the proposal as it violated the gender inclusion clause of the SFAA bylaws (SFAA Board, 1986b).

The same discourse was reiterated during the 1990 Vancouver Gay Games. Various events were forced to change their names from titles that denoted lesbian only events to more innocuous, gender inclusive language. Two planned events for Gay Games III festivities were forced to change their names. The 'Biggest Lesbian Party' was told to change its title, or lose its venue privileges, because the existing name was too exclusionary. The same argument was applied to a group of lesbian artists that was not allowed to use the name 'Queers in Art' for the artisans' bazaar (Davidson, 1996). Other critiques during the 1990 Games suggested the policing of the Gay Games' gender inclusion policy was ludicrous, given the rather androcentric bias of the name the *Gay* Games itself (Brookes, 1989; Davidson, 1996). The formal bureaucratic response to these criticisms by the Vancouver organisers was to claim that their hands were tied by the FGG that required them to use the trademarked 'Gay Games' by contract. The FGG doggedly includes clarifying definitions for terms used in its bylaws, and among other interesting semantic distinctions, the entry for 'gay' subsumes women with men whose proclivities (certainly not their word!) are for the same sex ("FGG Bylaws", 1989).[4]

As could have been predicted, the liberal approach of 'add women and stir' to the Gay Games organisation has not produced gender equity. Since the first Gay

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[4] In 1989, Larry Sheehan, SFAA board member and California attorney, wrote an explanatory note concerning these definitions. He advised the SFAA Board of Directors to include them in the new FGG bylaws. As he wrote, "The salient features are that 'gay' includes within it women and that gay shall not refer, per se, to sexual activity. I believe the latter point is important because we do not want to come into conflict in cities or states which continue to criminalise our sexual behaviour and therefore might possibly block the starting up and/or incorporation of gay athletic groups on the grounds of fostering criminal activity. This is a real possibility in several states and foreign countries" (Sheehan, 1989, p. 1, emphasis in the original). The adherence to *le nom/non du père* was admirable in the taboo on exposing any form of shameful sexual inclinations in and through the Gay Games.

Games, female participation has lagged well behind that of men's, with an all time high of 40% at the 1998 Amsterdam Games, after a very aggressive female participant recruiting campaign. The structural and overarching systemic problems that bedevil identity politics of any kind are glossed over and ignored in how the Gay Games have approached inclusion. There have been some shifts around the rigid gender inclusivity policies. In Amsterdam, a Women's Festival was held as part of the 1998 Cultural Festival. Notwithstanding the main theme of androgyny for the festival, it specifically recognised the need for 'safe space' for women within the Gay Games ("Gay Games 1998", 1998; Louwers, 1998). However, Women's Outreach is still on the list of 'minority' groups on the FGG website where they characterise themselves as activists (*Federation*, 1999). Arguably, while women have been involved at all levels of the FGG since its inception, the Gay Games' successes are more effectively traced through white, old boy connections than through any gender parity initiatives.

Tom Waddell's connections to white male power networks continued to assist the Federation of Gay Games well into the nineties, particularly (and ironically) in the rapprochement between the Gay Games and the USOC[5]. Waddell connected himself to power, a skill he had learned in the 1950s when he learned how to hide his sexuality behind the likeable straight guy front and avoid controversy or attention. While the two black sprinters who protested during the 1968 Olympics were sent home in disgrace, Waddell, who also made resistive comments to the international media, was discharged from the Army and retained by the USOC as a medical consultant (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Waddell avoided court martial threats on two occasions during his Army duty. In each case, white men in positions of power whom he knew from connections from his summer jobs, got him off the hook or connected him to the American Civil Liberties Union. Waddell served on the board of the Southern California ACLU chapter and it was

[5] I acknowledge Gloria Filax for suggesting this idea to me. Filax (2001) contends that the story of the struggle for gay and lesbian rights in Alberta is ultimately a white gay male narrative. I want to make a similar contention about the Gay Games, and Tom Waddell is an excellent case in point.

the ACLU that covered many of the Gay Games' legal expenses in their long, drawn out court battle (SFAA Board, 1986e; Waddell & Schaap, 1996).

Near the end of Waddell's life, the ABC Television network sent reporter Dick Schaap to do an exposé on Waddell. Schaap was entranced by Waddell's charisma and vision, so that when the USOC persisted in keeping an almost $100,000 lien on Waddell's house while he lay dying, it was Schaap who had the connections to Peter Ueberroth (then the director of Major League Baseball, a past executive director of the USOC, and the corporate brain child behind the 1984 LA Summer Olympics) to convince the USOC to drop their financial demands (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). In the obituary published in the San Francisco Chronicle, the importance of his connections was noted even in death. Apparently, Waddell had dined with the US Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop, due in large measure to Waddell's tireless efforts working for AIDS medical research ("Obituaries", 1987).

Even after his death, Waddell still pulled weight. In 1988, when a group of politicians and business interests tried to put together a bid for San Francisco to host the 1996 Summer Olympics, there was great resistance from the gay community. San Francisco Mayor, Art Agnos had gotten to know Waddell personally through Gay Games I and II. Agnos refused to support the bid unless the USOC agreed to five anti-homophobic demands in the Bay Area bid. While the San Francisco bid failed, and mainstream press and public opinion blamed a vengeful gay minority for that loss, Agnos was able to create some dialogue with the USOC concerning the Gay Games and issues of homophobia in athletic contexts. In a crucial letter to open that dialogue, Agnos poignantly invoked the hero Waddell (Agnos, 1988).

Between 1988 and 1991, the FGG was formed, and the terms Gay Games and its logo, three interlocking rings, were trademarked in Canada and the US.

Celebration '90 - Gay Games and Cultural Event III was held successfully in Vancouver, British Columbia. New York was the successful bidder in the first site selection competition the FGG ever holds. The Big Apple was chosen as the site for Gay Games IV to be held in 1994, in conjunction with the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall Riots. The Gay Games were achieving bigger and bigger successes. In 1991, an overeager USOC attorney wrote the FGG, threatening litigation again over the trademarked Gay Games logo ("FGG Board", 1991). This misunderstanding opened a dialogue between the USOC Executive Director Harvey Schiller and the FGG executive. In early 1993 the two organisations met and shared information. The USOC appointed their Manager of Plans and Programs, Jeff Craven, to be the point man for the FGG liaison (Peterson & Kennedy, 1993a). In 1994, Craven left the USOC organisation to coordinate the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games Torch Run ("FGG Executive", 1994).

The Olympics out of Cobb Coalition, a group of gay community activists in Atlanta, were protesting against any Olympic events (specifically volleyball trials and the torch run) being held in Cobb County, Georgia where anti-sodomy laws remained on the books (Knox, 1996; Lenskyj, 2000). The anti-sodomy protest attracted the attention of the US organisation Human Rights Watch, included a testimonial appeal to the USOC by American Olympic medallist Greg Louganis who credited Tom Waddell and the Gay Games to empower him to come out as a gay Olympian, and was eventually successful (Knox, 1996; Louganis in Waddell & Schaap, 1996). Arguably, Jeff Craven's association with the pro-gay rights FGG board during his tenure at the USOC played a role in the final decision to move the Torch Run route.[6]

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[6] In her recent book *Inside the Olympic Industry*, Helen Lenskyj (2000) notes that the lesbigay and allies lobby was more successful against the Olympic machine in Atlanta than were the ineffectual struggles of low income and homeless African-Americans to retain their neighbourhoods in the face of Olympic development. In 1997, the FGG chose Sydney as the site for the 2002 Gay Games in certain measure because of their access to Olympic venues. The Gay Games by extension colluded in the displacement and negation of indigenous and marginal working class communities when the Homebush site was developed for the 2000 Summer Olympics. These examples support Kevin Floyd's (1998) thesis that sexual minority identity politics once again triumph over certain

While these stories of patriarchal connection seem to fall into a good news, happy ending discourse, other men in high places had different ideas. In 1996, two FGG board members, through a business associate, were able to get prominent IOC member and at that time potential IOC president, Dick Pound, to give his advice on how the FGG could remain a viable business organisation in the future. Pound made it very clear, before he said anything, that the IOC and Dick Pound would disavow any contact with the Federation as the FGG was apparently anathema to the IOC and they wanted nothing to do with the Gay Games (Mumby, 1996). "I guess we should be proud we can engender such feelings!" is how Steve Mumby cast the comments when reporting to the FGG Board (Mumby, 1996, p.1). Maintaining the straight exclusivity of the Olympics was still of paramount importance.[7]

From my perspective, one of the most poignant examples of how the Gay Games organisation has incorporated the Olympic ethos has been through their battles to create, use and protect their own exclusive trademarked logo and name. For a group whose very genesis involved contested trademarked terms, their attempts to

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class politics, and in these particular instances, reiterate a disturbing racial narrative where predominantly a white, male homosexual discourse prevails.

[7] Five years later some of that exclusivity may have been getting less restrictive. In Toronto's 2001 Gay Pride Parade, members of the Toronto 2008 Olympic Bid Committee attended the spectacle in a prominent enough way to be noted in national newspaper coverage. The parade made the front page of one of Canada's national daily newspapers (which is not an especially liberal publication!) where it characterised the march and its historic origins as no longer necessary as gays and lesbians had achieved growing acceptance in Canadian society (Lawlor, 2001). I think there are many interesting ways to read this representation (especially the picture of the Brazilian-born, 'new' Canadian drag queen with her full body height peacock fan emblazoned with a red and white maple leaf!). The Toronto Bid Committee obviously identified the Pride Day crowd as a potential group of supporters, perhaps even wealthy business donors. Within Toronto urban politics, the 'gay and lesbian' community must have been presumed to be pro-development and affluent enough to be pro-Olympic as opposed to supporters of the Bread Not Circuses coalition. The latter group fought (less effectively in this particular bid) for the rights of low income and homeless communities who would be most adversely affected by Olympic redevelopment (Lenskyj, 2000). The incorporation of mainstream gay and lesbian identities by dominant political ideologies (economic and otherwise) is an absolutely fascinating 30-year history that needs further exploration. However, the fact that Toronto was unsuccessful in their Olympic bid and passed over for Beijing by the IOC, cannot, of course, be blamed *exclusively* on a rampantly pro-gay Toronto bid!

discipline the use of their name and logo were somewhat incongruous. In the summer and fall of 1988, one of the last acts of the SFAA before it disbanded and re-formed as the FGG, was to clear the Gay Games and the three-ring logo for trade marking in the US and in Canada. A formal trademark committee was struck ("SFAA Board", 1988b, 1988c, 1988d). At the inaugural meeting of the FGG, (the final meeting of the SFAA), all members were reminded that ™ must follow the Gay Games anytime it was used in print (SFAA Board, 1989). The trademarked name and logo continued to be constant legal and commercial struggles for the FGG.

Gay Games III in Vancouver in 1990 had to deal with several growing pains. It was the first time the Games were not organised by the SFAA, and in particular, Tom Waddell was not at the helm. It was also the first time the Games were held outside the USA and the first Games where the FGG had to learn to liaise with a separate organisation whose responsibility it was to host and produce the event. One of the main components of this last area was to develop a Trademark Licence Agreement with the organising committee for Gay Games III, the MVAAA (Metropolitan Vancouver Arts and Athletics Association) ("Trademark", 1989; "FGG Executive", 1989b). This set the stage for each of the subsequent Games. One of the most sticky and difficult aspects of finalising contractual details between any of the subsequent host organisations and the FGG has remained the issues of trademarked logo and name usage. For example, the final contract between the FGG and the Sydney 2002 organisers went through six different versions over many months, with several items being sticking points, among them what the Gay Games VI logo would look like and how revenues from that logo would be divided up ("Sydney Contract", 1998). The issues have included who and which organisation was authorised to and/or could authorise the use of the term Gay Games or display the logo, and for how much money that right would be granted (FGG Executive, 1989f).

Suddenly, the fledgling FGG found itself in the position of having to protect its property - the Gay Games and their logo. Not to be confused with the word 'Olympic', but the words Gay Games™ were rapidly becoming the 'very lifeblood' of the FGG. In a first of many infringements, an Australian lesbian and gay sports club sent some of their literature to the FGG wherein they used the terms Gay Games inappropriately. In a February 1990 letter, FGG Co-President Rick Peterson took the group to task indicating why they could not use the term Gay Games. Peterson maintained that the FGG had to protect its own name and could not have it watered down and become meaningless. To claim the international scope and significance of the Gay Games, the Federation had had to move to a position where they owned the name and the rings so as to be able to protect their integrity. The tone of the letter was conciliatory but firm, even inviting the Australian group to become members of the FGG at the end (Peterson, 1990)! By the fall of 1991, their attorney informed the FGG that they had no legal leg upon which to stand to prevent the Australian use of the term Gay Games. At that time, they only held monopoly over the term in the US and Canada for specifically designated periods of time (FGG Executive, 1991e). The Australian group continued to use their title 'Australian Gay Games IV', which could easily have been confused with Sydney being awarded the fourth Gay Games, which were held in New York City (Peterson, 1992a). (Sydney was awarded the sixth Gay Games to be held in November 2002).

Early in 1991, the FGG board received yet another legal challenge from the USOC. In a January 24, 1991 letter to the FGG board, the USOC indicated that they were proceeding with a petition for cancellation of the FGG logo as its three-ring logo was allegedly causing confusion with the Olympic symbol. FGG counsel suggested that the legal battle would take years and cost thousands of dollars ("FGG Board", 1991). Just days before the 1991 FGG Board of Directors meeting in New York, Shawn Kelly wrote the USOC's Executive Director, Harvey Schiller, asking that they drop their legal action concerning the Gay Games

trademark. He reminded Schiller that the Gay Games had faithfully followed the USOC's demands and court orders since 1982, and that during the Supreme Court hearing four years earlier, even the USOC's attorney noted the difference in logos:

> We are willing to assume for the moment that...this is an action of an overzealous attorney...Our international Board of Directors is meeting in New York this weekend... At that time we will decide how best to respond publicly and legally to your action. We urge you to communicate with our attorney...prior to our Board meeting...Time is of the essence in this matter, and should we not hear from you prior to this weekend we may have no alternative but to enter the public and legal fray...Revisiting this conflict can only damage the image that the USOC has so carefully tried to establish. It will also be a tremendous waste of money that could better be spent by both of our organisations to promote amateur athletics (Kelly, 1991, p. 2-3).

Schiller was on the phone to the FGG's lawyers immediately, profusely apologetic, claiming he had no idea this had happened, and would have the case dropped at once. He wanted to open lines of communication and cooperation between the two organisations and suggested he would host the FGG at USOC's headquarters in Colorado Springs. Schiller appeared to take seriously Kelly's conflation of the roles the USOC and the FGG play in promoting amateur athletics. Hesitantly, the FGG became optimistic about cracking the Olympic barrier, paradoxically of course, through a trademark skirmish. The FGG Board wanted the retraction guaranteed in writing, and decided to keep the whole issue quiet for the moment, to get a better press release later ("FGG Board', 1991).

By the spring of 1992, the FGG executive had started to compile a growing list of logo and copyright transgressions. A group in Toronto was trying to form a Canadian Federation of Gay Games to which the FGG had intensely opposed the

name and had made the Canadian group angry. The promotion of 'Australian Gay Games IV' had some people thinking that the site of the 1998 Gay Games V had already been announced. The Hague hosted the 'European Gay Games' in June 1992. The FGG's right to a registered trademark for a Games held outside the US could not be presumed to be guaranteed money in the bank, as outside of American borders they had no protection. A poster for a Japanese Trade Union appeared to use the Gay Games three ring logo. New York in '94, the organising committee for Gay Games IV, had incorporated the Federation logo into their logo for the Games. Sorting out the ownership arrangements was a very difficult, and at times, divisive, struggle. Opinions were expressed that the 'Gay Games' must be exclusively controlled by the FGG, and that individual cities or regions should not be able to adopt the term willy-nilly (Peterson, 1992a). Even where political interests could be expected to be shared, the FGG policed its name and logo. In 1991, they wrote the New York Human Rights Campaign who had used the Gay Games name and logo on a flyer advertising their annual dinner, advising them that the usage was inappropriate. One would think that the Gay Games would have wanted as much free publicity as possible, but instead a legal committee was struck to stop all transgressors as quickly and expediently as possible (FGG Executive, 1991f).

In 1994, Team Seattle put together a proposal for a 'Gay Winter Games' that they would be willing to host in 1996 (Team Seattle, 1994). In part, the FGG refused the idea based on trademark and licensing obligations to Amsterdam that were enshrined in the FGG/Stichting contract (Peterson & Kennedy, 1994c). Protection of the trademark and logo was a major point in the first FGG Business Plan for 1994-95:

> Goal 2: To increase the Federation and ownership and control of the Games. Strategy 2.2: Trademark and Name protection. Tactic B: In each of the countries involved in the Federation, identify a local, legal instrument

> to protect Federation ownership of the name and trademark ("FGG Business", 1994, p. 3).

In Canada, the trade marking process stretched out over several years and was completed in 1995 after much struggle in both French and English and expense, as *pro bono* legal work could not be secured ("FGG Executive", 1995; Kennedy & Peterson, 1992b). In 1998, the same theme was reiterated. A British company was using the logo and the FGG registration in the UK had expired, leaving them with no recourse ("FGG Board", 1998).

The FGG did not walk into this blind corner all on its own. They took many cues from their 'mentor' organisation, the USOC. After suffering for almost six years under the assault of trademark infringement claims, they knew something about the stakes of protecting intellectual property as an asset. Unfortunately, they were a volunteer-run organisation with no paid staff in the early 1990s, unlike the army of attorneys retained by the USOC. It was hard for the FGG to police assets like the big boys when they had few resources, but they could try. In a 1992 letter to Team Toronto, the FGG co-presidents clearly delineated the FGG's investment in owning the 'Gay Games'. The Toronto-based group, loosely referred to as the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Athletics and Culture/Team Toronto, wanted to call themselves the Canadian Federation of Gay Games. In its objection to this name, the FGG disputed the Canadian group's claim that the situation in which the FGG opposed a Canadian Federation was parallel to the USOC's objection to the Gay Olympic Games. The co-presidents claimed that these two situations were different because in the Canadian case confusion about the name could actually occur, whereas in the USOC situation, confusion acted as a smokescreen for the operation of homophobia (Peterson & Kennedy, 1992). Veracity of the claims aside, the ways in which this discourse functioned were uncanny.

In Foucaultian discourse analysis, it is the 'how' of the discourse, as opposed to the 'what' of the discourse that is privileged. The 'how' of the FGG rhetoric in the 1990s mirrored almost exactly the 'how' of the USOC rhetoric of owning the word 'Olympic' in the 1980s. In all of the FGG documentation I have looked at, never once has it been at all reflexive about the effects of the unilateral move made by the SFAA in 1989 which presumptively decided that the Federation of Gay Games (at that time a very North American-based Gay Games) would be **the** international gay and lesbian sporting umbrella group, and that it would 'own' the words[8]. This abrupt colonising move was much like the effects of the Amateur Sports Act of 1978 where the USOC was granted the Olympic monopoly, against which the Gay Olympic Games complained bitterly in 1982. Ten years later, a similar dynamic may have been chafing at the Canadian group concerning the FGG. Ironically of course, a group of Torontonians wanted to represent all Canadian gay and lesbian sporting organisations, perhaps as unaware of their own investment in being the centre of a different (Canadian) universe! The most apparent investment of the FGG in endeavouring to attain international status was the haunting of the FGG by Tom Waddell's vision and desire to truly be a global event. Waddell, despite his feisty bravado to the contrary, was more committed to an idealised notion of Olympism and the romanticised allure of the Olympics, than to seriously rejecting them. When Harvey Schiller proposed that the FGG meet with the USOC, the American arm of the most successful and visible global amateur sporting organisation, the International Olympics - the opportunity was too good to refuse.

By mid-February 1992, the second trademark challenge by the USOC had been abandoned. Schiller made good on the claims he made in his emergency phone call to the FGG's lawyer just prior to their January board meeting. All claims were

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[8] As early as 1984, the organisers seemed to expect that the Gay Games would be accepted as the 'best' gay and lesbian sporting event, regardless of the long history of organised sport for lesbians and gays. As Waddell (1984) wrote "There are many new lesbian and gay sports festivals around the world where the competition is good and the spirit is high towards winning. But, once every four years the Gay Games will be the opportunity for everyone to be together at the same time" (p. 7).

dropped and overtures towards actually meeting were made (Kennedy & Peterson, 1992a). In the fall of 1992, the FGG sent a letter suggesting they meet and outlined specific examples of how the two organisations could mutually benefit one another. An invitation was received from the USOC six weeks later (Kennedy & Peterson, 1992b; Peterson, 1992b). On January 29, 1993, the USOC hosted FGG executive members for six hours in Colorado Springs where the executive met and shared information with 'top' USOC officials. Reports indicated that "every person they met was genuinely interested in the Gay Games and the philosophies which underlie it" and seemed eager to share information and expertise ("FGG Executive", 1993a, p. 1).

In their daylong meeting, the FGG was able to dispel the widespread assumption held by most of the USOC staff that the Gay Games were held exclusively for gays and lesbians. In addition, the USOC agreed to do several things: 1. Explore ways to reduce homophobia and heterosexism among athletes, coaches and officials through education. 2. Review USOC's own antidiscrimination policies concerning employment to ensure sexual orientation was included. 3. Provide FGG with contacts in the US State Department that may be helpful in assuring HIV+ Gay Games participants can enter the country. 4. Promote the Gay Games by including Gay Games IV and the FGG in the 1994 USOC Fact Book, and by a listing and/or articles in the *Olympian* magazine and *Olympic Beat* newsletter. 5. Help obtain sport sanctioning from appropriate National Governing Bodies in the event that sanctioning is denied or delayed. Information was also shared by the USOC with the FGG pertaining to HIV policies and recommendations, drug testing policies and procedures, media relations and crisis management, event logistics, fundraising (including the importance of trademarks and logos!), and inter-organisational issues between the USOC, the IOC, and ACOG (Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games) ("FGG Executive", 1993a). The 'good' press release that the FGG had wanted after the second USOC trademark threat fizzled came out two weeks after the Colorado Springs meeting. Emphasising the Gay

Games philosophies of 'personal best' and 'inclusion for all', the meeting was characterised as excellent and the "beginning of a long, beneficial relationship" (Peterson & Kennedy, 1993b, p. 2).

Many of the items discussed in that 1993 meeting were to prove to be fortuitous. As has already been noted, the Jeff Craven connection helped in the anti-homophobia lobby in Cobb County during the 1996 Atlanta Summer Games. The Gay Games were listed in the USOC Fact Book in 1994 and 1995 ("FGG Executive", 1994). The USOC information about US State Department contacts assisted New York in '94 to convince Attorney General Janet Reno to issue a ten-day blanket waiver for HIV+ visitors during Gay Games IV ("FGG Executive", 1993b; Labrecque, 1994). Crisis management had to be put into effect during Gay Games V after the Amsterdam executive director fled the country on embezzlement charges and it was revealed that he had overspent the Gay Games budget by several million dollars. That story broke the day before the Games were to start (Provenzano, 1998).

Tom Waddell had always sought official sanctioning for all sport events at the Gay Games, with uneven success. The USOC's assistance with the process produced an ISU (International Skating Union) sanctioned figure skating competition in 1994, while due to bad organisation and slow planning (and not homophobia, which was the spin the Games fed to the media and participants), the ISU refused to sanction a skating competition in Amsterdam in 1998 (Dermody, 1998b). The sanctioning of athletic competitions may lend a sense of credibility to an event, but it also feeds the serious competitive edge to sport. The International Olympics have endured many drug scandals in the name of gaining the winning edge, and the USOC provided the FGG with drug testing and policy information so the Gay Games could tackle this problem within their own event. During Gay Games IV, the use of performance enhancing drugs became a

contentious issue that has continued to hound the organisation[9] (Aaronson, 1994; "Preliminary", 1997).

The USOC's willingness to share their marketing and fundraising expertise was an important step in the continuing economic incorporation and survival of the Gay Games. As each subsequent Games have become larger, more complex and accordingly more expensive, the FGG realised with increasing urgency that it had to figure out how to manage the multi-million dollar events. As an 'Olympic-style event', which was how Gay Games IV started to refer to themselves after the FGG meeting with the USOC in 1993[10], they looked to the Olympics for tips on how to manage their finances ("New York", 1992). This prompted Gilles Pettigrew, a Canadian FGG member and subsequent FGG co-president, to get indirectly connected to Canadian IOC member and vice-president Dick Pound through a business associate (Pettigrew, 1996). Pound has been credited with revolutionising and likely saving the International Olympic movement from financial demise by implementing TOP - The Olympic Programme. This was the IOC's sponsorship and licensing program which salvaged the organisation from

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[9] The Gay Games find themselves in the unique position of having a larger than usual number of self-identified HIV+ competitors who are often on steroid medications. In New York in 1994, controversy exploded around the use of performance enhancing drugs, especially in the bodybuilding cohort (Aaronson, 1994). The results of the drug tests were obtained after the finals and thirteen people were stripped of medals after the fact (Anderson & Galetti, 1996). The physique competition has had to put in place and attempt to enforce an ergogenic substance testing policy. However, to uphold the Gay Games' philosophy of fairness and inclusion, those athletes on steroids for medical purposes (the disciplining regime of the Gay Games required the signing of a drug waiver by a treating physician!) had to be allowed to compete. In late 1997, a recommendation was put forth that the physique competitions be split between 'tested' and 'non-tested' athletes in an endeavour to resolve the impasse ("Preliminary", 1997).

[10] New York in '94 really pushed the FGG to lobby the USOC to officially endorse Gay Games IV ("FGG Executive", 1992; "FGG Executive", 1993b). The Federation resisted these demands on the basis that their new relationship with the USOC had already been fruitful for Gay Games IV in terms of the HIV immigration waiver, policies for participants under the age of 18, and drug testing information. The FGG also clung to its mandate that whatever the relationship with the USOC, it was to be with the Federation, and not the host organisation. However, the FGG did agree to ask, on New York's behalf, the USOC to provide information on computer software for multi-sport events, and if the USOC would support New York's attempt to secure Yankee Stadium, and help influence George Steinbrenner, owner of the New York Yankees major league baseball team ("FGG Executive", 1993b). The closing ceremonies for Gay Games IV were held in Yankee Stadium, with Steinbrenner receiving special thanks in the Closing Ceremonies program ("Gay Games IV", 1994; Labrecque, 1994).

depending solely on television revenues and being at the mercy of major American networks. Through quietly asking multinational corporations for large sponsorships (in the millions of dollars), the IOC avoided bankruptcy in the 1980s, and created the conditions to be able to negotiate huge worldwide television contracts instead of being held hostage to the three large American broadcasting networks. Pound had been one of the chief negotiators in the media network bargaining (Joyce, 1994; Lenskyj, 2000).

In his 1996 comments on how the Gay Games should fundraise, market, and license themselves, Pound spent most of his time stressing the importance of maintaining control of the Games. The organisers must be more like executors and less like independent hosts, and that way the Federation could control all sponsorships, media contracts and quality of the productions (Mumby, 1996; Pettigrew, 1996). As each of the Gay Games have proceeded every four years, their budgets have become larger and the corporate sponsorships more important, however attracting the elusive and crucial large American television network contract has yet to materialise. The Gay Games have become incorporated economically as a large amateur sporting spectacle. That economic incorporation has been urged on by the unconscious psychic incorporative identification with the lost Olympic ideal and, in a twisted, late 20th century way, Tom Waddell's vision of a successful international gay and lesbian athletic event. Like it or not, the Gay Games have become 'Olympified'.

Me thinks the lady doth protest too much.

"One of the most anxious aims of the [the Gay Games'] desire will be to elaborate the differences between [the Gay Games] and [the Olympics], and [the Gay Games] will seek to discover and install proof of that difference" (Butler, 1997, p.137). In Judith Butler's rendering of the heterosexualisation of desire, the repudiation of the feminine by the male is absolutely necessary for the female to

become desirable for the male within a heterosexual matrix. The same logic works for the Gay Games. In its repudiation by the Olympics, the Gay Games absolutely desire the Olympics, but cannot express that. Therefore the Gay Games work hard to prove their differences from the Olympics, both as a unique event and/or to be a better (and therefore different) version of 'true' Olympism, something which the Gay Games, along with other critics, claim the modern, contemporary Olympic Games do not embody (see among others Donnelly, 1996; Lenskyj, 2000; Simson & Jennings, 1992). In a panic to prove their difference, the Gay Games belie their desire for the Olympics.

Examples of these urgent protestations have gone on since before the Supreme Court brought down its decision in 1987. In an interview just before Gay Games II in 1986, Tom Waddell asserted the following:

> Let's say we go to the Supreme Court and they say we can use the term in conjunction with the word gay. I would start a campaign to say, 'We don't want it. It doesn't suit us anymore. It's tarnished.' We were using it initially to describe our Games, but let's look at the Olympics. The Olympics are racist, the Olympics are exclusive, they're nationalistic, they pit one group of people against another, and [they are] only for the very best athletes. That doesn't describe our Games" (Waddell in Coe, 1986, p. 13).

This double disavowal of the already banned Olympics reiterates a certain Gay Games arrogance. If the Gay Games pride discourse functions and naturalises itself by insisting on its radical otherness from the mainstream Olympics, "then that [Gay Games pride] is purchased through a melancholic incorporation of [the Olympic love] that the [Gay Games] disavows" (Butler, 1997, p. 139). The Gay Games are often described as not at all like the modern Olympics.

Former Canadian Olympic athlete and coach, Betty Baxter, was a participant in the first two Gay Games and a key organiser for Gay Games III in Vancouver. By 1982, Baxter had been Canada's national women's volleyball coach for three years. In 1982, she was unceremoniously fired for being a lesbian (Baxter, 1990; Brunt, 1990; Griffin, 1990b) In addition to a Gay Games melancholia, she had her own losses vis à vis athletics that fuelled her comments:

> I honestly believe that what I saw in San Francisco [in 1982] was a first.... the first time I'd seen the kind of international sporting event that also catered to people's need to come together and play for fun. That is something that competitive sports lost a long time ago (Baxter in Forward Focus, 1990, p. 7).

The focus on participation and enjoyment with no minimum performance standards through athletics is one of the most often cited differences between the Gay Games and the Olympics. Tom Waddell rhetorically emphasised this from the very beginning. He described the structure for Gay Games I:

> The ceremonies for the winners all week will be very brief. What we plan to have is [sic] the top six people in the winner's circle. The top three will receive medals, but all six will receive certificates. Again, we're not emphasizing winning. But strict rules will be kept, statistics will be very complete. We're emphasizing participation. When you make winning terribly important, then you also make losing very important, and we don't want to do that. We don't want anyone to feel like they've lost (Waddell in Trefzger, 1982, p. 19).

Between Gay Games I and II, an Australian participant and organiser wrote an impassioned piece in the Gay Games II newsletter, "Triumph in '86", exhorting the Gay Games to distinguish themselves from the standard Olympic ethos:

> Our efforts to promote Gay Games I in Australia met with several criticisms. One of the most salient of these derived from a lack of clarity about how the Gay Games differed from other mass sporting events, such as the traditional Olympics. **It was therefore vital to communicate clearly the distinctive ideology underlying the Gay Games. In fact, a radical difference exists in values and ideals**. In contrast to the traditional Olympics, the Gay Games aim to highlight the value of human transactions which are not rooted in an obsession with winning competitiveness or exploitation of others. Nor is the emphasis upon comparing everyone with single standards of achievement or performance.
>
> The Gay Games represent the rise of an alternative model or redefinition of 'success'. **The focus is upon the pursuit of excellence; not in the sense of triumphing over others, but in the sense of the fullest realization of each person's unique potential, through shared participation in healthy activities** (Todd, 1984, p. 4, bold in the original).

In defining themselves against the Olympics, the Gay Games absolutely implicated themselves in Olympic discourse and kept intact the polarised logic of 'is and is not". The original retains its discursive force through being held up as something that the other is not.

In a continual quest for origins, there have been gestures towards a nostalgic, revisionist history of the Olympics, and by extension the Gay Games. The ancient Greek Olympics are held up as what the Gay Games emulate, as opposed to the modern Olympic movement. Some commentators hold up the ancient Greeks as the original 'homos' who really comprised the state of Olympia, from whence came the Olympic Games (satya, 1982). "The Olympic Games once symbolised the unity of gayness and athletics" in the ancient world, but when they were

resurrected in 1896, there was no room for the homosexual athlete (Murray, 1982, p. 7). The ancient Olympics are characterised as being one of the few times when constantly warring Greek city-states would lay down their arms for peaceful athletic contests:

> On their higher level the games have come to symbolize international peace and cooperation. They remind us that we can compete in a non-warlike manner, in the spirit of sportsmanship - a spirit of generous winners and good-hearted losers...In a way, the Gay Games embodies the Olympic ideal better than do the big name, super-hyped International Olympics. As those games have developed in reality, they are far from their ideal. The USOC has turned them into their personal property - they even own the word - and into a political pawn ("Good sports", 1988, p. 6).

One of the rhetorical moves made by the Gay Games is to suggest that they are not the soiled Olympics. There is still a purity about the Gay Games that distinguished them from the tarnished modern Olympics. In a somewhat ironic move, this purity about 'healthy activities' is redeployed concerning HIV and AIDS. Rather than collude in the discourses of plague, pollution and infection that have dominated conservative discussions about HIV/AIDS, the Gay Games, for better or for worse, have willingly become part of a healthy discourse surrounding AIDS. Preparing, training and finally participating at the Gay Games is being heralded as a panacea for people living with HIV/AIDS, providing them with purpose, hope and health where they had none before.

Since 1990, Brent Nicholson Earl has been the driving force behind the Rainbow Run/Roll for the End of AIDS (which the Gay Games Torch Run predated). Earl, an openly HIV+ athlete, considered his "athletic career all tied up with his activism...his mission is to instil a sense of longevity and survival in the younger generation of lesbians and gay men" (Washington, 1994, p. 122). In 1994, it was

estimated that more than 25% of Team San Francisco was HIV+, "some with T cells to be counted on a single hand" ("Team SF", 1994, p. 1). And again in New York, a competitor in the Physique body building competition posed with an open chest catheter, suggesting that he had never felt more alive (New York in '94, 1993). With these kinds of public confessions, the infected Gay Games athlete 'comes clean', and the movement buttresses a certain unsullied image.

The Gay Games link health (in this example, mental health) and idealistic Olympism to transcend the tired and scandal-ridden, hypocritical Olympic movement. As Greg Louganis suggested at the Opening Ceremonies to Gay Games IV, "I'm real excited to be part of an event that's all about the true Olympic ideals. This is our chance to show ourselves and the world how strong we are as individuals and as a community" (Louganis in Waddell & Schaap, 1996, p.233). Even more pointedly, Bruce Hayes pronounced in a promotional testimonial for the 1994 Gay Games, "Winning a gold medal at the 1984 Olympics was everything I always hoped it would be but participating in the Gay Games was, in many ways, the most satisfying and gratifying experience of my athletic career" (Hayes in New York in '94, 1993, p.4). Symbols of Olympic excellence, (both Hayes and Louganis were Olympic gold medallists whereas Waddell only could ever place sixth), these spokesmen turn their backs on an Olympic movement to support, instead, the Gay Games.

Although Olympic icons are often deployed in Gay Games discourse, there are the protestations about how the Gay Games are absolutely NOT the Olympics and many distinctions are made. Waddell's dream of inclusion is invoked. Passionate claims point to the recreational categories for all athletic events, no minimum performance standards, a wide range of age categories and the absolutely joyous atmosphere of gay camaraderie that pervades the event. Stories abound from each of the Gay Games as to the altruistic, sportspersonlike actions that so differentiate them from the performance driven Olympics. The emphasis is on participation

and doing one's best. "The most important thing about the Games is the destruction of isms like ageism, sexism, and racism. The second most important thing is the recreational aspect of the competition. That's a major departure from the traditional Olympic Games" (Waddell in Gildersleeve & Wardlaw, 1982, p. 2).

While normalised athletic bodies are legion, there are others who do compete, sometimes for the first time in their lives, having shunned athletics in adolescence and early adulthood due to its extremely homophobic culture.

One of the more romanticised claims of the International Olympics is that it is a celebration of human endeavour - both athletic and cultural. While the modern Olympics have let the cultural emphasis of human endeavour decline in importance in recent decades, the Gay Games hosts an extensive Cultural Event. The Cultural program draws in as many participants and perhaps more spectators than the actual athletic events. Music, film, literature, drama, art, and other creative endeavours, all celebrating queer culture, abound throughout the event. The Lesbian and Gay Bands of America organisation formed in 1982 and has participated in several Gay Games Cultural Events ("Celebration '90", 1990). The Gay Games have also occasioned the formation of lesbian and gay choruses in anticipation of each event and the choral festival. Now, twenty years later, gay and lesbian choruses are a vibrant part of almost every lesbigay community in major cities across North America where they are heralded as being important places for individuals to come out and find community. In its celebration of art and athletics, the Gay Games meets (and they might argue, exceeds) the Olympic claim to celebrate human endeavour.

"Me thinks the lady doth protest too much". In their urgent denial of the taint of Olympic identification, the Gay Games belie their reliance upon them. "Of course it comes as no surprise that the more hyperbolic and defensive a [pride] identification, the more fierce the ungrieved [Olympic] cathexis" (Butler, 1997, p.

139). The assertions of pride are not just of gay pride, but they are also of a particular Gay Games pride, the expressions of which are the ungrieved and ungrievable Olympic cathexis. The Gay Games have a very complicated and ambivalent relationship with the Olympics. The conflicted love/hate relationship is identified by long time FGG member, Derek Liecty in the following statement he made to the FGG Board just prior to the rapprochement meeting with the USOC:

> My enthusiastic statements made yesterday at this meeting regarding what appears to be favourable contacts with the United States Olympic Committee have been interpreted by some as a call for the Federation to leap into bed with this insidious organization. Nothing could be further from the truth. I too was in the Supreme Court building when this odious group of vengeful people continued its vendetta against our founder Tom Waddell. I know the hurt they have caused. They shall not be excused. I would deplore any efforts to become a 'copy cat' organization of the USOC.... However possible recognition of our existence by the USOC [is] a significant channel for closeted gay athletes performing in the Olympic arena to finally be able to step forward...[It] could have tremendous benefits for our organization in terms of public acceptance, access to possible sponsors, and pressures to allow HIV infected individuals in the country in the horrible event that George Bush is reelected (Liecty, 1992, p. 1).

The allure of Olympic power and influence was not completely tempered by the memory of the "odious group of vengeful people" from the "insidious organization". The hailing of the messiah, "our founder, Tom Waddell" completes the melancholic assignation. Pride is invoked through allowing athletes to come out, and in furthering the Gay Games cause. In the next part, I explore how the Gay Games' continuing viability and success might be attributed to a necessary

melancholic incorporation of Gay Olympic shame, where gay pride discourses become "the routing against the ego of aggression toward the other which is prohibited from being expressed directly" (Butler, 1997, p. 161). It is this pride, which is the identification with the lost shame, which will be the focus in the next part of Section III - the analysis of the self beratement which engenders the hate aspect of the love/hate relationship in the melancholic Olympic identification.

Section III: The psychic conditions of possibility

Part Four - The love/hate relationship - The second half: Pride - The incorporated 'hate' of shame

While the Gay Games' 'love' for the Olympics is huge (as indicated by the voluminous preceding part), I think the most interesting and productive dynamic is how the 'hate' of homophobic shame has and continues to propel the Gay Games through the discursive rhetoric of gay pride. As I outlined earlier, when the ego experienced the loss and prohibition of the shaming Olympics, the Gay Games subject was brought into the symbolic order through disavowing that shameful moment, and prohibiting their love for the Olympics:

> If [the Gay Games] acquire [their Olympic-style event status] by repudiating the love [of the Olympics], then that repudiation lives on in the acting out of the event and asks to be read as rivalry, aggression, idealization and melancholia.... What [the Gay Games] acts, indeed what [it] 'chooses' has something profoundly unchosen in it that runs through the course of that 'performance' (Butler, 1997, p. 162).

One way of measuring the success of the Gay Games is in how effectively it appears 'natural' that gay pride should be the original impulse and foundational basis for the Gay Games, and that it is a celebratory, freely chosen form of gay pride. I suggest that the pride effused at the Gay Games is the symptomatic acting out of the subject berating the ego, which in melancholic incorporation comes to embody the lost object.

If we were to follow Slavoj Žižek's notion about how ideology functions, we might suggest that the gay pride which drives the Gay Games, functions as a point de capiton - a quilting point - which collects and holds free floating signifiers to

mean something coherent against a master signifier which confers meaning after the fact. As Žižek (1989) explains

> the logic of transference...consists of the illusion that the meaning of a certain element (which was retroactively fixed by the intervention of the master signifier [point de capiton]) was present in it from the beginning as its immanent essence...The paradox lies in the fact that this transferential illusion is necessary, it is the very measure of success of the operation of 'quilting': the *capitonnage* is successful only in so far as it effaces its own traces (p. 102).

Gay pride at the Gay Games has become the master signifier to give the illusion that it has always been present, even though the event was made possible by a shaming prohibition. But as Sally Munt (1998) points out, "the edifice of Pride may be a shaky one, and I am reminded that in classical literature the great male heroes *suffer* from pride, that it can be a vice, and even, a tragedy" (p. 5). For the Gay Games, the ego does suffer from pride, which in melancholia occurs as the ego ideal being gay pride. The ego becomes impoverished in the attempt to 'become' the lost object/ideal (the shaming Olympics) and suffers the self-beratement of the 'prideful' critical agency of the superego/ego ideal (Butler, 1990, 1997). The assertions of gay pride at the Gay Games are instances of the ego ideal rebuking the ego, punishing it in its shameful primary identification.

When the Gay Games were denied the use of the word Olympic, it was perceived and represented as a homophobic loss. The International Olympics reconsolidated homosexual shame by actively denying the connection of gay with Olympic. Shame and the word Olympic were prohibited and lost to the Gay Games. However, no matter how ambivalent and unresolved the double barrelled relationship was, the Gay Games refused to sever their connection to the shaming Olympic object:

> The object is 'brought inside' the ego where the quarrel magically resumes as an interior dialogue between two parts of the psyche. In 'Mourning and Melancholia', the lost object is set up within the ego as a critical voice or agency, and the anger originally felt for the object is reversed so that the internalised object now berates the ego: "...the self-reproaches are reproaches against a loved object which have been shifted onto the patient's own ego" [Freud in Butler]. The melancholic refuses the loss of the object, and internalization becomes a strategy of magically resuscitating the lost object, not only because the loss is painful, but because the ambivalence felt toward the object requires that the object be retained until differences are settled (Butler, 1990, p. 61).

The two parts of the psyche that Butler conceptualises might be read as an extension of my earlier discussion of the ideal ego and ego ideal. The ego and ideal ego are closely related in function in this reading of melancholia, each of them formed in an imaginary identification with a utopic Gay Olympics. The ego ideal and super ego[1], approximating forms of overt gay pride, form a critical voice or moral agency that berates the ego. The quarrel is sustained as shame and pride continue to clash, but now it is an intrapsychic dynamic that spills out in symbolic traces of declarations of homosexual emancipation.

The subtleties between each of the ego, ideal ego, super ego, and ego ideal can sustain more sophisticated readings (whether from a Freudian or Lacanian perspective). However, Dylan Evans (1996) suggests, "in Freud's writing it is difficult to discern any systematic distinction between the three related terms 'ego-ideal', 'ideal ego', and superego" (p. 52). In *Gender trouble*, Judith Butler (1990)

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[1] Freud's *The ego and the id* (1923) "gives an account of the formation of the superego as an introjection of parental figures whereby the superego remains alien to the ego in the way that the superego functions as a critical agency" (Diamond, 1992, p. 177). "The super-ego is, however, not simply a residue of the earliest object-choices of the id; it also represents an energetic reaction-formation against these choices" (Freud in Butler, 1990, p. 62).

explicitly conflates the superego and ego ideal (see for example p. 62 and p. 162, n. 36). While I used a Lacanian framework in my previous reading of the ideal ego and ego ideal, in this section I am following Butler, who relies on Freud in her rendering of gender melancholia. Hence, I too will perform this conflation to make my counterintuitive melancholic point as clear as possible. It does not, I think, impede either of the points I want to make.

The melancholic identification with shame and pride was very productive for the Gay Games. It was specifically inaugurated in the first cease and desist order given by F. Don Miller in very early 1982 which set in motion a chain of events that have secured the Gay Games as a major international amateur sporting event. Miller, then USOC Executive Director, did not grant formal approval to the Gay Olympic Games (as they were then referring to themselves) to use the word Olympic. The nascent dream of publicly recuperating the Olympics for lesbian and gays was dashed. In that loss (and the subsequent threats, losses and prohibitions over the next five and a half years), the Gay Games were brought into subjecthood. The USOC represented the Law, which prohibited the ego's identification with a gay Olympics. The prohibition secured the Olympics (and the hallowed dreams of Olympism) with shaming, homophobic intentions and/or effects. Almost immediately, with the divestiture (or at the very least, the serious threat of loss) of Olympics, there was also a prohibition on shame, as the two concepts were indistinguishable in the USOC's embargo. The ego ideal, identifying with a trait in the symbolic, took on what remained after the shameful prohibition. If there could not be a Gay *Olympic* Games, there would be a *Gay* Games, and they had to be denoted as gay to fulfil the pride mandate of post-Stonewall gay and lesbian politics. The ego ideal identified with what remained - overt gay pride.

Melancholy is denoted by the experience of self-beratement. "The self-reproaches are reproaches against a loved object which have been shifted on to the patient's

ego" (Freud in Butler, 1997, p. 140). In a counter-intuitive twist, the invocations of pride discourse are a form of melancholic self-beratement for the Gay Games. The reproach to homophobic shame is gay pride. The loved object was the Olympics, which after the homophobic attack of the USOC, metonymically functioned as queer shame in this context. The Gay Games' ego was under gay pride siege.

When the loved object dies or is lost (perhaps lost through prohibition as is the case here), anger at the lost other is exacerbated. "But this anger is turned inward and becomes the substance of self-beratement" (Butler, 1997, p. 141). Anger at not being allowed to fulfil the original dream of a Gay Olympics was coupled with anger of being shamed in that prohibition. The animosity felt towards homophobic shame becomes the basis for the self-beratement of the Gay Games by gay pride. The ego is an imaginary identification with an elusive ideal and these internal reproaches can never fulfil the loss. "This self-aggression becomes the primary structure of conscience" (Butler, 1997, p. 142), and the ego ideal "serv[es] as an interior agency of sanction and taboo" (Butler, 1990, p. 63). Roughly, the hegemony of a certain type of Gay Games gay pride psychically sanctioned (and still sanctions) what was legitimated and what was not at this huge event, keeping intact the absolutely necessary taboo on shame.

Go Pride, Go: A brief overview across the years

San Francisco - 1982 and 1986

Right from the beginning, the expressions of pride which emanated from the organisers of Gay Games I were implicitly assimilationist:

> Gay men and women who live openly in society have created a viable sub-culture in cities throughout the world. Up until now it has been

> characterised by the traditional media as an exclusively sexual lifestyle. That may have been the basis of our liberation and the genesis of our sub-culture, but it is after all only a superficial inspection of the depth of our character. We, as gay persons aspire to many of the goals and activities of traditional society, including an active participation in organised sport. Here then, is an opportunity to expand our image and educate the general public on the vitality, variety, and versatility of the Gay community, through the promotion of sports events within the framework of Olympic style competition. It will also serve to unite our athletic organizations nationally and internationally, to say nothing of the joy of our own Olympics (Waddell, 1981, p. 1).

Early on, there was an active eschewing of the sexual nature of homosexuality, and a very definite attempt to make the Gay Games fit into mainstream society. The gay pride of the Gay Games was construed in 1982 as a pride where one did not explicitly flaunt their difference, but indicated that there was pride in living a 'normal', traditional life. Tom Waddell was likely more radical in his desire to have athletic participation be more important at the Gay Games instead of competition, than in his views on homosexual pride. Waddell asserted in 1982:

> We wanted to present ourselves in such a serious way that it would be a highly visible event so people around the globe would see gay people representing a good cross section of the gay communities. So this is an opportunity to create a sense of unity for those people who do live openly gay lives, a chance to blow the lid on this oppression that everybody feels; and too, to present ourselves in a way that's reasonable to the public at large (Waddell in Trefzger, 1982, p. 18).

By downplaying the 'weird perversity' of a stereotypical gay world, the ego ideal's gay pride dynamic prompted Waddell to identify with a certain pride discourse.

Remembering that the ego ideal, as symbolic identification, occurs when we "identify ourselves with the other precisely at a point at which he is inimitable, at the point which eludes resemblance" (Žižek, 1989, p. 109), it is revealing that the Gay Games could not allow themselves to identify too much with a homosexualised Olympics pride, as that was the barred impossibility within the imaginary. Instead, the symbolic expressions of the ego ideal were suitably muted enough to attempt to mollify homophobic mainstream institutions - depicting gays and lesbians as desexualised (almost non-existent in fact) and athletics as mere participation all within an individualised framework of freedom and liberty.[2] This point was cemented by noted lesbian author Rita Mae Brown, who emceed the Opening Ceremonies for Gay Games I. "The point of the games is not so much to celebrate homosexuality but to celebrate and affirm individual freedom...Darlin', the only people who are queer are the people who don't love anybody" (Brown in Salter, 1982, p. B1). Far from a 1990s reclamation of queer, Brown comes as close as she can to acknowledging shame in the symbolic. "Significantly, [shame] is not abolished but preserved, though preserved precisely in the prohibition on [shame]" (Butler, 1997, p. 142).

In some attempt to erase the schisms (often based on differences in sexual practices or styles) within a larger lesbian and gay community, Waddell wanted to find some way to transcend these divisions. "Look around at all the divisiveness in the Gay community...We got to thinking, 'What's going to bring them all together?' and we came up with the idea of sport...If people aren't into exercise and competition, most people are at least into spectating" (Waddell in

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[2] The lyrics to the commissioned Gay Games I anthem, "Reach For the Sky", perfectly encapsulate this desexualised and individualised doctrine. "Reach for the sky, And you're gonna make it, You'll watch your dreams come true. Reach for the sky, The moment you wake up, All day the whole night through. Now it's the time to hold your head up, To spread your wings and fly, Just open your heart, Then reach for the sky. You're a winner, Every time you play the game, Participation, Is a victory sweet to claim. Pushing your limits, Reachin' for the sky, Shows what's inside you, You care enough to try. Take your chances, Open up every door, Get in the spotlight, Dare to come back for more. Practice makes perfect, That's so plain to see, Let loose your power, Set your spirit free." ("Gay Athletic", 1982, p. 10).

Gildersleeve & Wardlaw, 1982, p. 2). Somehow, he would attempt to include everyone in his utopic ideal.

Celebrating inclusion through sport, the longstanding mantra of the current Gay Games, was the main focus of the first event. As a volunteer swim coach and athlete commented in 1982, "The Gay Games are one way to say, 'come and see how alike Gays and straights are. There are more similarities than differences' " (Gildersleeve & Wardlaw, 1982, p. 3). The conservative realm that is athletics seemed to have remained intact even with gays and lesbians at its helm. As another Gay Games volunteer reiterated, "For others like me who are not out front activists, [the Gay Olympic Games] proves that our humanity can and does often prevail over our sexuality" (Primavera, 1982b, p. 4). The gay pride celebrated at Gay Games I was about fitting in and taking a place at the table. One should come out of the closet quietly, and slip into an acceptable activity like sport.

While Waddell desperately did not want his Games to be political, he had little control over their effects. The celebrated battle over the word Olympic ensured the politicisation of the event. Even mainstream media noted the politicised nature of this 'alternative' athletic event:

> The Gay Olympics are emerging as a potent socio-political symbol. By demonstrating the broad reach of the gay community - the stereotypical flash of marching bands to the unexpected roughness of the soccer field - the Gay Olympics will do much to dispel prejudice and ignorance (Mandel, 1982, p. A2).

Various local politicians sympathetic to the Gay Games cause suggested that gay pride was not enough to dispel discriminatory action. "Although the Gay Games show how far we have come, the ban on the word Olympic shows how far there

still is to go" declared Congressman Phillip Burton ("Burton denounces", 1982, p. 14).

But, by all recounting, it was a proud day when Gay Games I opened:

> I want all those responsible for organising this truly incredible event to know that I have been Gay for 25 years and out-of-the-closet for the past ten years, but never have been as proud to be a Gay man as I was on Saturday while watching those beautiful athletes file onto the field. The only event in my memory that even comes close was election night in 1977 when Harvey Milk was elected to the Board of Supervisors. You had to have been there Saturday to understand the feeling because to describe the feeling of pride would never work (Friday, 1982, p. 14).

The overwhelming sentiment expressed in the coverage of the Games was that they were a huge success, in large part because of the expression of gay pride, however its representation had been muted or assimilated. As I have already noted, Waddell revelled in the various subcultures within San Francisco's gay community of the early 1980s. He truly wanted all aspects of the lesbian and gay community represented:

> The gay twirling corps and marching bands, Sistah Boom (a lesbian Samba band) leading athletes into the stadium, and the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence (as well as other gay male cheerleaders in drag) doing a very gay half-time show at the basketball playoffs, created proud spectacles that were uniquely our own. Both men and women athletes were frequently found embracing and kissing in congratulations or out of sheer exuberance at participating in their events - at being on the offensive, rather than the defensive. A sublime homoerotic undercurrent was ubiquitous and the straight spectators and participants (of which there were many) openly

> joined in the games' collective statement of pride and love (Ellgas, 1983, p. 11).

These imaginary moments notwithstanding, Waddell and other organisers of Gay Games I were criticised by a few writers in the gay press for capitulating to the demands of mainstream society by suggesting that the Gay Games conduct themselves in a way that was "reasonable to the public at large" (Trefzger, 1982). As one ardent critic (who also wanted to pledge his time and expertise to help Gay Games II get organised) stated, "Talk about grovelling for acceptance. There seems to be a vocal portion of the Gay Games I committee who seem hell bent on proving that most of us are just like straight people...[and most concerns are with] making a squeaky clean impression on middle America" (Plageman, 1982, p.16).

Sixteen years and five Gay Games later, Elspeth Probyn (2000) found the same discourse about desexualised, individualised pride running through the Amsterdam Games in 1998. "The Gay Games project erases shame.... [As they] combine asexuality with commercialization, and a total lack of connection with questions of human rights and politics" (p. 14). Probyn picks up on the individualistic nature of the Games, citing the prevalence of personal best directives, and the downplaying of affiliation to nation, city or team as less important than a philosophy of individual pride. The melancholic incorporation of Olympic shame meant that shame must be erased. The Gay Games' ego had 'become' the shamed prohibited ideal of the Gay Olympics, and individualised gay pride, in the form of the Gay Games' ego ideal, continued its self beratement.

Four years after the first, Gay Games II was an even bigger and better success. By now, the organisers had amassed a series of testimonials, which enthused about the power of gay athletic pride. These narratives were well published leading up to the second event, with registrants and supporters receiving quarterly newsletters. The upshot of this increased exposure and better organisation was a doubling of

the athletes participating in Gay Games II. Just over a year after Gay Games I ended in 1982, "Triumph in 86" started organising, with the first issue of their newsletter coming out in January 1984. Throughout that first 24-page newsletter, the quiet but insistent thread of gay pride was woven.

> There is much to be said about the first Games, but if you were there then you know how inadequate words and pictures would be in describing what we all saw and felt... [For Gay Games II] our goals remain the same: here is an opportunity for us to gather together from all over the world in a spirit of friendly competition...In celebrating our togetherness in such a fashion, we choose cooperation rather confrontation to establish our visibility and identity. In turn we create visual examples of how we hold ourselves and this serves to educate those who need to know us better (Waddell, 1984, p. 1).

Constant retellings of the magical opening ceremony of Gay Games I were recounted over and over again in that first newsletter for Gay Games II. August 28, 1982 was a cold, cloudy day in San Francisco:

> While the audience inside the stadium chanted, a few members of the Gay Games Flag Corps rushed into the middle of the enormous grass field and began to do a sun dance. To the delight of the crowd, the clouds parted and bathed the dancers in a spotlight of bright, warm sunshine which continued to expand to the entire stadium...Everyone began to have an inkling that something unusual was about to happen ("Opening Ceremonies", 1984, p. 9).

> Then came the photo opportunity. The athletes began to appear. From countries around the world they marched into the stadium. It was a new expression of Gay pride captured with all the dignity of people given the

> freedom to compete. Like a faucet spilling over, the athletes entered the stadium (White, 1984, p. 7).

> As [Meg Christian] sang [the official Gay Games anthem], two former Olympic stars...entered the west gate carrying the torch which had made its way across country from Stonewall in New York, carried by more than 200 gay women and men. The torchbearers ascended the flame plinth and as Meg finished with a crescendo, they lighted the flame signifying the start of the First Gay Games. A frenzy of cheers rocked the stadium and simultaneously an enormous black draped box at the end of the stadium exploded with 20,000 colored, helium-filled balloons. Pandemonium. Everyone was happy and proud. Everyone cried. ("Opening Ceremonies", 1984, p. 10).

The quilting of gay pride as the master signifier of the Gay Games is secured in the retroactive refashioning of this and other highly choreographed spectacles. The cementing of meaning ensures that Gay Games gay pride continues to motivate the event, while simultaneously berating the ego.

> We have made significant inroads in our triumph over adversity, and Gay Games II will reflect our new attitudes of self-esteem and achievement by adopting the theme "Triumph in '86".... [This theme] reflects what we must accomplish in terms of establishing a sub-culture that is exemplary... We wish the Gay Games in 1986 to be a vehicle to triumph over the racist and ageist and sexist attitudes many of us own ("Triumphant", 1984, p. 21).

Over and against a progressive identity politics that are linked to the Gay Games cause, the shamed ego takes another one on the chin from the ego ideal of pride. The discourse leading up to Gay Games II implied that the lesbian and gay

subculture was not yet exemplary, it still had to be accomplished. And it would be accomplished through individualised self-esteem and achievement of a clean-cut kind of pride that would be considered exemplary. In fact, if it were up to Tom Waddell, it would go beyond exemplary. "Clearly, the Games will be the most visible, most positive, most joyful event we will have experienced in the history of our liberation" (Waddell, 1985, p. 2).

And to read the testimonials by athletes and spectators who participated in Gay Games I, one would think there was not a shred of hyperbole in Waddell's statements. Every edition of the Gay Games II newsletter featured one or more biographies about particular lesbian or gay athletes from Gay Games I. These stories combined elements of their early beginnings in sport, their coming out stories and how the Gay Games philosophy of personal best informed their training or experiences at the Gay Games. The coffee table picture book produced out of Gay Games II, *A sense of pride: The story of Gay Games II*, profiled an athlete in each of the sports, following a similar kind of pattern. As an example of the kind of insistent pride discourse running through these personal vignettes, consider this comment from a California triathlete. "I spend many hours running. Sometimes it's been running away from, but now it's running towards something. It's running towards love, compassion, caring and spirituality, towards my health and well being. There's been a nice turn, a nice change" (Hopple in Coe, 1986, p. 54). Running from homophobic shame cannot be named except in its absent presumption and pride is configured in the individualised achievement of a kind of Maslowian self-actualisation.

For the second time running, Rita Mae Brown was the MC for the Opening Ceremonies in 1986. Instead of queer bashing this time round, she talked about 'gay':

> I emphasize "gay" in Gay Games. These Games are very important to us, not just because they bring us together, but because here we show the world who we really are. We're really intelligent people, we're attractive people, we're caring people, we're *healthy* people, and we're proud of who we are (Brown in Coe, 1986, p. 29).

The AIDS epidemic/panic was in full swing by the time Gay Games II occurred. Brown's invocation of healthy, gay people indicated how the pride discourse of the Games changed in response to shifts in gay culture, but it still followed the same rhetorical pattern. Proud people were healthy people, even with AIDS - especially if you were Tom Waddell. His death has been described in many ways, but it was also presented as a very "healthy" way of dying. He was not afraid of death, he chose how to die, he had his affairs in order, and he was surrounded by those who loved him (Waddell & Schaap, 1996). His was an exemplary death.

In 1987, the Gay Games lost both the Olympics and Tom Waddell. The primary source of inspiration for pride at the Gay Games had been lost with the Olympics. His incorporative pride philosophy would continue through the years. By the time the FGG was formed in 1989, the assimilationist form of inclusive pride was permanently embossed on the Gay Games. The mission and purpose of the Gay Games has not changed since 1989:

> The primary purpose of the Federation of Gay Games shall be to **foster and augment the self-respect of gay women and men throughout the world** and to **engender respect and understanding from the non-gay world through the medium of organized, noncompetitive cultural/artistic and athletics activities**. While particular emphasis is placed on these specific goals, it shall be a fundamental principle of this Corporation that all activities conducted under its auspices shall be inclusive in nature and that no individual shall be excluded for

> participating on the basis of sexual orientation, gender, race, religion, nationality, ethnic origin, political beliefs, being physically challenged or athletic/artistic ability, or HIV status ("FGG Bylaws", 1989, emphasis in the original).

By the time the FGG was formed to oversee and protect the Gay Games movement in 1989, the angry rhetoric about the Olympics had dissipated. In a very early MVAAA newsletter, the results of the Supreme Court decision were reported, and then Olympic-bashing discourse all but disappeared ("Gay Games name", 1987). However, the shaming prohibition remained intact and functional. Gay Games III in 1990 were the first time the event was run under the auspices of the FGG and not the SFAA. They had left San Francisco, the City of Light, for the shores of Vancouver. It was the first time they were held without the founder being involved in their organisation. Without Tom Waddell to manifestly guide them, the memory of his missionary zeal invested the symbolic traces of the prohibition on shame and the expressions of Gay Games pride discourse. Urgent pride discourse had been most obviously propped up by the living Tom Waddell. After the summer of 1987 however, his memory and the shaming Olympic loss continued to hold pride psychically in play. Gay Games III would function as a test of the strength of the prohibition on shame, a test they would pass with flying colours, even amidst some very public homophobia.

Vancouver - 1990

In 1990, the gay and lesbian community of Vancouver was one of the strongest and most public lesbigay presences in Canada. However, it was still not San Francisco. In 1986, the MVAAA (Metropolitan Vancouver Arts and Athletics Association) took the proactive step to try to avert a homophobic moral panic concerning the spread of AIDS with such a large, concentrated gathering of 'queers' in the city. The Chief Medical Officer for the City of Vancouver made a

public statement in June of 1986, four years before the actual event was to take place. Dr. John Blatherwick stated that there should be no worries about stigmatising Gay Games' participants because AIDS was construed as a 'gay' disease (Blatherwick, 1986). By the time the Games occurred in 1990, Blatherwick had refined his position. "Wide community support for the Games will strongly assist those of us attempting to stem the tide of AIDS. The presence of gays in our community poses absolutely no risk to citizens" (Blatherwick in Temple & Hughes, 1990, p.3).

Representations of public homophobia seemed more prevalent in 1990 than they had been in the two previous Games. MVAAA organisers worked closely and extensively with Vancouver city police and the RCMP to anticipate security needs and develop contingency plans at every venue that was used for Gay Games III, in preparation for disruption, protest or violence (Griffin, 1990a; Griffin, 1990c). There was quiet opposition from some groups in the Vancouver community like the Canadian Legion that declined to lend flag-holsters for the Opening Ceremonies. A certain segment of the large fundamentalist Christian community in Vancouver prayed for months for God to overturn and stop the immoral event (Brunt, 1990). Homophobic graffiti (such as 'Death to Queers' and 'Fags Go Home") was sprayed in orange, sometime misspelled, letters on the West End Community Centre just days before the Games (Griffin, 1990d). Before the Games were over, there were two more instances of homophobic graffiti and one reported incident of gay bashing, where a Seattle visitor was sprayed in the eyes (Griffin, 1990f). Nevertheless, some of the most pernicious homophobia came from well-established bureaucracies and institutions - governments, universities, and religious organisations.

In typical Canadian fashion, the Vancouver organisers applied for several forms of government funding. At the federal level, Fitness and Amateur Sport gave them no funding, in all likelihood because the Gay Games absolutely did not fit into

their rationalised, Olympic-focused mandate and structure. The Federal Department of Communications - Cultural Initiative Program finally provided Celebration '90 with a $15,000 grant after the MVAAA had applied for over $130,000 and had actively lobbied several federal and provincial representatives (Amundson, 1989; "Grant Applications", 1990; Kidd, 1989). The British Columbia provincial government, under the leadership of the very conservative Bill Vander Zalm, flatly refused to provide any money to Gay Games III, even after three separate grant applications. Lyall Hanson, the Minister for Municipal Affairs, Recreation and Culture suggested in his refusal letter to the MVAAA that the province already funded:

> Virtually every sport and recreation activity offered at your event...In light of this all-encompassing array of opportunity, it does not seem appropriate in a world of scarce public resources to fund 'Celebration '90' which basically duplicates activities already very successfully offered. Accordingly, may I invite you to consider participating in sport and recreation activities through our Province's outstanding existing system" (Hanson, 1990, p.1).

This patronising response provoked the ire of the MVAAA's treasurer, Bill Amundson, who threatened to launch a human rights complaint over the denial of funding. Like the discourse of the Gay Olympics case, the BC provincial government had funded similar events like the Special Olympics, the Seniors Games, and the Police and Fire Games without referring them to services that were already being provided (Griffin, 1990g). While no suit was ever pursued,[3] acknowledgement that gay and lesbian organisations suffered (and continue to

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[3] In September of 1990, with Gay Games III posting a deficit of $140,000, the B.C. Civil Liberties Association sparked an investigation suggesting that Vander Zalm was blatantly discriminating on the basis of sexual orientation, both in the decision to deny grant funding and in his public comments explaining why (Griffin & Bramhan, 1990). One year later, after multiple appeals for donations, the MVAAA offered its creditors 21 cents on the dollar to wind up its affairs. MVAAA spokespeople continued to blame the provincial government for not funding them (Griffin, 1991).

suffer) from this kind of systemic discrimination had to wait for almost another decade before the Supreme Court of Canada would rule, in the Vriend case, that sexual orientation was a protected category under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

This subtle homophobia was highlighted by two other particular incidents, which drew attention to how the Gay Games continued with its successful strategy to conform and be accepted as quietly gay and lesbian. The President of the University of British Columbia initially refused the Gay Games' request to book his institution's athletic facilities and that decision was later overturned by its Board of Governors. The second incident was a full page, fundamentalist Christian newspaper advertisement denouncing the Gay Games as a gay plot destined to ruin the souls and morality of Vancouverites. Each of these incidents backfired on their perpetrators and likely garnered bigger and better public support for the Games than if they had not occurred.

In October of 1986, two directors of the MVAAA had an enthusiastic and positive meeting with UBC Conference Services staff to book residence, gym, and aquatics facilities for the 1990 event. By booking over three years in advance, the organising group knew they would not be in conflict with any other events. Shortly thereafter, the MVAAA received a short, two-line letter informing them that the university was not available to them. For the next eighteen months, the Vancouver organisers attempted to get some concrete reasons as to why they could not rent the public facility. They were finally directed to UBC president, Dr. David Strangeway ("For Immediate Release", 1988).

Svend Robinson, the first publicly gay federal Member of Parliament (NDP - Burnaby East), and an Honorary Board Member[4] for Gay Games III, managed to

[4] Celebration '90 created an Honorary Board of Directors for Gay Games III. These publicly prominent Canadians represented a cross section of sport advocates, community activists, politicians and writers who were asked to advocate for Gay Games III in a number of different

speak with Strangeway in July of 1988. At that time, the UBC head claimed that dealing with the Gay Games was not in the University's best interest. Robinson reported back to the MVAAA and assisted them with strategy. As a former UBC Student's Union president and representative on the UBC Board of Governor's, Robinson was well versed in how to negotiate academic political channels. He advised the MVAAA to get on the agenda for the September, 1988 Board of Governors meeting, to have all members of the Games Honorary Board write letters to the UBC President and Board of Governors, and that Robinson would speak with Prime Minister John Turner and contact the UBC Alumni Association (MVAAA Board, 1988).

A media leak just before the MVAAA was to present to the Board of Governor's meeting, proved very helpful. The UBC student newspaper (*The Ubyssey*) obtained a memo from the UBC President. In it, Strangeway "explained he had banned the Gay Games because he believed the activity to be more political than athletic or cultural and he did not want to involve the university in such a social issue" ("For Immediate Release", 1988, p.1). Mainstream media, surprisingly led by the conservative Vancouver newspaper *The Province,* picked up on the story and supported the Gay Games editorially. The MVAAA presentation to the Board of Governor's meeting received full press corps attention and was stretched from a 15-minute slot to a full hour where they addressed the UBC mandarins. A day later, the MVAAA received a letter from the UBC President, requesting they submit their booking requests in writing. The Board of Governors overturned Strangeway's decision ("For Immediate Release", 1988).

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political arenas. In 1989, the Honorary Board was comprised of Emery Barnes (MLA), Kevin Brown (Founder - AIDS Coalition Vancouver), June Callwood (Author, Columnist), Libby Davies (Alderwoman), Michael Harcourt (Provincial Opposition Leader), Bruce Kidd (Director - Olympic Academy), Darlene Mazari (MLA), Margaret Mitchell (MP), Jane Rule (Author), Svend Robinson (MP), Donald Saxton (National Volleyball Team Captain), Floyd St. Clair (CBC), The Very Reverend Robert Smith (United Church Minister), John Turner (Federal Opposition Leader), and David Watmough (Author) (Dahl, 1989, p.5). The idea of an honorary board of directors seemed

The MVAAA used this debacle to full advantage. In a press release about the changed decision, an MVAAA spokesperson suggested that while he was happy with Strangeway's new request

> he [was] even more pleased with general community outrage which followed the press announcements. Every significant media outlet in the city has been in touch with us...Every person we have talked to is sympathetic and it's clear that the media won't be dropping this issue until we have the booking confirmations in our hands...We have spent a lot of our time during the past two years educating the general community about all the positive qualities of the Gay Games movement...The feeling most frequently expressed by people associated with the university has been embarrassment...Our very desire to settle this through negotiations rather than confrontation underscores the fact that we are a sports and cultural organization rather than a political activist one (McDell in "For Immediate Release", 1988, p. 2).

The media attention was positive, and the Gay Games were able to spin out of the situation an acceptable image of a reasonable group who were being unfairly treated. They were not in-your-face queers, but well educated (the press release indicated that 9 of 12 MVAAA board members were UBC alumni, many of them holding two degrees from the institution) professionals who were involved in a worthy cause - promoting the acceptance of gays and lesbians into mainstream culture. This was what Gay Games pride had to do. If the homophobic shame was made explicit, it had to be turned on its head, carefully, without being too 'outrageous'.

About one year later, a group of fundamentalist Christians made the assumption that they represented mainstream Vancouver values when they ran a full page ad

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to have lived and died with Gay Games III. None of the subsequent Gay Games organisers have

(purportedly worth $15,000) in both major daily Vancouver newspapers - *The Province* and the *Vancouver Sun* (Kelly & McDell, 1989). On November 4, 1989, the ad, entitled "Time is Running Out - Concerning Gay Games Vancouver - August 4-11, 1990", ran. It was filled with Biblical scripture quotations heralding the perils of homosexual perversion, wickedness, corrupted social values, easy sex, and incest among others:

> We therefore with all reverence and serious intention, in Christ's name, make a public statement: That because these Games will bring God's judgment upon us all in this city, we therefore forbid them in the name and authority of Jesus Christ. We believe that they shall not take place...We believe that this is a clear call to spiritual warfare ("Time is Running Out", 1989, p. A9).

The sponsors[5] were identified along the bottom of the ad copy in small print. "The above declaration is initiated and paid for by Christian leaders who live in Greater Vancouver, and who love this city and its people" ("Time is Running Out", 1989, p. A9).

Luckily, public outrage about the ad was immediate. Spokespeople from the BC Civil Liberties Association and the BC Conference of United Churches both condemned the action. Letters to the editor were overwhelmingly opposed to the ads and the *Vancouver Sun* virtually apologised for running the ad. Their response was "we regret it went unflagged as advertising (its appearance was such that a reader might have perceived it as editorial material) and we unequivocally deplore

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picked up on the idea.

[5] One year earlier, in October 1988, a monthly newsletter called *Life Gazette*, which self-described as "non-partisan in politics and biblical in religious perspective", ran a front-page headline story entitled "Sodomite Invasion Planned for 1990" (1988, p.1). While I cannot ascribe a direct connection, the fundamentalist Christian, hyper-homophobic perspective in the publication is akin to the kind of rhetoric presented in the "Time is Running Out" advertisement. In wonderfully queer fashion, *Angles*, at the time the main gay and lesbian newspaper in Vancouver ran a literary

its lack of signatures or attributions. In addition, we consider its message repugnant" (Kelly & McDell, 1989, p.1). Disclaimer or not, asking about where the *Sun's* judgment was about running the ad in the first place, puts their retraction into question.

The almost paranoid, incoherent quality of the homophobia in the ad backfired on its producers. In the week following the publication of the ad, the MVAAA office was inundated with offers of financial and volunteer support. It appeared that large numbers of the public did not think Gay Games gay pride was about backroom perversion and wild sex as the fundamentalist rhetoric implied. Richard Dopson, a board member of the MVAAA, called the phone number listed at the bottom of the fanatics' ad. He introduced himself to the person at the other end and said "Thank you very much for spending $15,000 to advertise for us" (Dopson in Richards, 1990a, p. 25). Celebration '90 parodically reinscribed the hourglass that was prominent in the middle of the original ad. They superimposed the Celebration '90 logo on it, left the formatting and font the same so that it read "Time is Running Out - Support Celebration '90 NOW!" The design was silk-screened on t-shirts and sold for fundraising (Richards, 1990a, p. 39). It was a golden opportunity for the Gay Games to present themselves as the sane, tolerant, liberal event and the outpouring of support from gay and non-gay organisations and communities buoyed them.[6] Conservative attempts to quash the Gay Games had repeatedly turned into productive conditions of possibility for them.

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supplement in August of 1990 to coincide with the Gay Games Cultural Festival. It was aptly dubbed the *Sodomite Invasion Review* (Larventz, 1990).

[6] While I was in California at the archive in San Francisco, I stayed with my sister and her partner who live in the Bay Area. My sister's partner, Shree, grew up in a traditional, first generation Indo-Canadian family in Greater Vancouver. One night over dinner, we were discussing my finds that day in the library, one of which was the information on the fundamentalist ad. Shree immediately remembered the incident, and talked about how in 1989 his family and teenage peer group from suburban Vancouver were generally disgusted by it. This response, and Shree's crystal clear memory of the event, surprised me. I had not expected that the support for the Gay Games was really as palpable as the historical texts were portraying it. It must also be acknowledged that there is likely some revisionist memory work going on knowing his 'sister outlaw' is a lesbian writing about the Gay Games.

Six months later, Betty Baxter was still working the liberal angle. The appeal to personalised experiences of social exclusion that gays and lesbians suffer would motivate them to be as inclusive of all sorts of diversity as possible at the Gay Games. Focussing on inclusion at the event, she suggested, "this is about gays and lesbians coming out and being part of the community and being respected as such" (Baxter in Griffin, 1990a, p. B4). The religious right obviously believed the Games were being too successful in their push to be assimilated and the well-funded religious protest of the event was continued. In the winter of 1990, the religious fanatics opened an office in Vancouver whose sole purpose was to work against Gay Games III. Various rallies were held, culminating with a huge spectacle just as Gay Games III were about to commence[7] (Richards, 1990a). An American group of Christian musclemen, the 'Power Team', were brought in for almost a quarter of a million dollars by a coalition of Christian Churches. They hoped for a turnout of 40,000 people at BC Place who would pay to listen and be moved by the word of Jesus as eight hunky bodybuilders smashed bricks and lifted weights. Almost parallel in a queer kind of way, the very popular Gay Games male physique contest commanded the most expensive ticket price at the Games at fifty dollars a pop (MacQueen, 1990).

Each of these groups exercised their own forms of exclusion, despite the Gay Games rhetoric of inclusion. Richard Dopson suggested right before the Games started, "The gay and lesbian community...has come out with tremendous pride. We're going to meet people here from all over the world who are very proud to be gay, very proud to be athletes. They are not leather and drag queens but they're athletes' (Dopson in MacQueen, 1990, p. A8). The MVAAA organisational

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[7] In the end, despite a lot of money, publications and organisation, only four protesters gathered outside BC Place Stadium when the Opening Ceremonies for Gay Games III were held. Three people were shouting anti-homosexual slogans through a loudspeaker and one person carried a placard prophesising doom. Six members of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence quickly surrounded the protesters. Skilled in parody, the drag nuns encircled the protesters in ridicule. Police removed the homophobic objectors shortly thereafter (Canadian Press, 1990). Lesbian comic and performer Robin Tyler was the emcee for the Opening Ceremonies of Gay Games III.

discourse in mainstream media kept a sanitised, unsullied, squeaky-clean gay or lesbian intact. Promotional posters were incredibly bland, reinscribing racist, sexist, and heterosexist imagery with the word Gay in tiny, almost indiscernible print (Davidson, 1996; MacQueen, 1990). Even though there was an official brochure indicating that leather was welcome in Vancouver, and that Svend Robinson noted the drag queens, bull dykes, men in leather, and radical fairies in his opening ceremony address (quoted from the *Halifax Chronicle Herald* no less!), the insistent discourse of a mainstream homosexuality that fit in appeared to be the most reiterated and dominant theme (Canadian Press, 1990; "Letter", 1988).

Examples of this assimilative discourse were especially abundant in mainstream media. Many Canadian daily newspapers picked up on the Games' story at least once in 1990. The producer and choreographer of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies suggested that he was approaching the project as he would any kind of family entertainment that included participation and inclusion (Griffin, 1990e). The Globe & Mail characterised the event as "blurring the boundary between homosexuals and others in an attempt to show that homosexuals have many of the same interests as the rest of the world" (Matas, 1990, p. A3). Stan Persky (1990), a gay Vancouver journalist, praised mainstream media coverage of the Games suggesting they "projected the message that being gay is not wrong but being intolerant of gays is" (p. D2). He quoted a *mea culpa* editorial from the generally conservative daily, *The Province*. "Almost a year ago, we called these Gay Games 'silly'... Since then we've been educated. We've learned that these games are intended to build bridges, strengthen community, and bolster self-esteem" (Persky, 1990, p. D2).

The organisers of Gay Games III managed the public homophobia in such a way as to manoeuvre the stigma of queer shame away from the Games. They were able

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She referenced the fundamentalist Christian opposition to the Games. "I don't mind them being

to distance themselves from the social opprobrium of being gay and managed to rhetorically come up the middle in mainstream media representations. The Gay Games were about pride, self-esteem and tolerant goodwill. Even though there were several attempts to shame the Games by governments, universities, and religious organisations, that shame did not stick. Gay Games III held homophobic shame at bay, successfully maintaining the prohibition on that shame (still psychically held in play by the lost Olympics) and berating it with invocations of tolerant and inclusive pride. Gay Games pride was being solidified as a discursive formation, both positively and negatively.

However, not everyone involved in the Cultural Festival of Gay Games III was so upbeat about the inclusiveness of the event. Alternative presses told a bit of a different story about Gay Games III:

> Celebration '90 was a celebration of jocks, kitsch, and mainstream silliness...It was a homecoming for every closeted gym teacher and dyke baseball starlet, a paean to Weimar-esque notions of the body beautiful, a reclamation of spectacle, a temporary utopia that removed the taboo and made queers feel normal - if only for a week. It was a week where you weren't supposed to wonder what it means to *want* to be normal, where you weren't expected to analyse the deeper meanings of say...the presence of Socred politicians [at the Opening Ceremonies], or the erasure of the word 'lesbian', or the whiteness of almost everyone's skin (Bociurkiw, 1991, p. 6, emphasis in the original).

Under-representation of almost all minorities came up as a lively discussion topic at many of the forums in the Cultural Festival. Dionne Brand suggested that the very title of the literary festival - Words Without Borders - reinvented Columbus-like colonialism:

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born again, but do they have to come back as themselves" (Tyler in Richards, 1990b, p. 14)?

> Sometimes in trying to say what is most fine about us, we borrow from the wrong terrain. We, as lesbians and gays, need to turn over these terms. We need to fight against the culture rather than fight for inclusion...We must take on dissidence rather than inclusion (Brand in Bociurkiw, 1991, p. 7).

The Gay Games imperative for inclusion meant that the women-only social events sanctioned by the MVAAA could not be advertised as women-only, and that men were to be permitted to attend any of these parties. Through the lesbian and gay alternative presses in Vancouver, there was lively debate and concerns expressed about the pervasive sexism and heteronormativity involved in many MVAAA board decisions. For example, a group of dykes had organised Queers in Arts, an artisan's bazaar meant to be one of the 75 events of the Cultural Festival. The group was forced to change its name by the Games' organising committee as the word 'queer' did not promote a positive image of lesbian and gays, instead it conjured up the derisive slur of the middle 20th century, a time period which the Games' discourse was effectively making invisible (Davidson, 1996).

Other commentators indicated that Gay Games III - Celebration '90 - was a week to provide a clear vision of what they did not want gay and lesbian utopia to look like. Critiques were made that at events such as these, issues of under representation would often be noted and almost always overlooked (Bociurkiw, 1991). As predicted, the message that gays and lesbians needed to be considered (or consider themselves) as a fractured, polyvocal, and contested identity was not effectively heard by the organisers of the New York Games. Unity '94 did a good job of carrying on the unfortunate legacy of producing an exclusionary type of inclusive, normalised Gay Games athlete.

New York – 1994

As the so-called 'Gay 90s' unfolded, so did a particular trajectory of North American lesbian and gay politics. Gay Games IV, held in New York City in 1994, exemplified an integrationist model of lesbian and gay organising in the mid-1990s. Urvashi Vaid (1995) has characterised the post-Stonewall lesbian and gay movement as having two main time periods - pre-AIDS and post-AIDS. The impact of this epidemic on gay and lesbian communities (among other groups) has been monumental, changing not only lives and lifestyles, but setting an agenda and direction for the mainstream gay and lesbian political movement for the last 15 years.

Vaid (1995) characterised four strategies used by gay and lesbian advocates dealing with the AIDS crisis. These were 'degaying' AIDS, desexualising AIDS, decoupling AIDS-specific reform from systemic reform, and direct action. These four themes can be read through how Gay Games IV proceeded to become evermore a part of the mainstream lesbian and gay political machine in the United States[8]. Specifically allying themselves with the AIDS movement, Unity '94 (the organising group for the New York Games) and the FGG managed to negotiate a 10-day blanket immigration waiver with the Clinton administration for foreign visitors with HIV/AIDS. The 'degaying' of the Gay Games, which has been noted as troubling from the beginning (Plageman, 1982), proceeded to be noticed more

[8] Through the organising of the fourth event, the Gay Games (the FGG and Unity '94) established themselves as 'big' players in the North American gay and lesbian political movement in other ways beyond the HIV immigration policy. They were integrally involved in the organisation of Stonewall 25, and the dates for Gay Games IV were changed to accommodate maximum participation in the march and its celebrations as well as the Games ("Dates of the Games", 1992). Unity '94 hired professional consultants to assist with corporate fundraising, PR and other major tasks. They generated some of the highest corporate sponsorships ever given to a lesbian and gay event at that time. Among other lesser media celebrities, international tennis star Martina Navratilova lent her name and presence to a major fundraising event held at Madison Square Gardens which netted over $250,000. One of the hottest auction items was a chance to play tennis with Martina. The tennis lesson went for $30,000, and a racquet of hers went for $18,000. Games' organisers claimed the charity event as a major victory as the words 'gay' and 'lesbian' had never appeared on the marquee of the Gardens before (FGG Executive, 1993b; Lipsyte, 1993).

publicly and vocally in Vancouver, and continued in its integrationist, corporatised fashion in New York. The psychically motivated taboo on shame was kept intact by the obsessive quest for normalcy and acceptance of a very bland sort of gay pride. This mild type of gay pride dovetailed nicely with particular historical moments in the gay and lesbian movement in the mid-1990s.

From the very first Gay Games, immigration based on sexual orientation had been an issue for Games' organisers. Prior to AIDS being produced within health discourses, identifiable homosexuals were barred from crossing US borders and entering the country. Before Mary Dunlap fought the USOC for the Gay Games, she successfully represented a man named Carl Hill. In 1979, Hill had been refused entry as a visitor to the United States at the San Francisco airport for wearing a gay pride button. Waddell supported Dunlap at the 1981 Hill hearing as he was invested in creating an international Gay Games and to do that, foreign gay and lesbian athletes had to be able to get into the country to compete. Fortuitously, for Gay Games I, Dunlap was able to successfully argue that the ban was discriminatory and the courts overruled the law. An appeal was immediately initiated, however (Forward Focus, 1990; Waddell, 1982f). Each Gay Games prior to 1994 had specific information for participants on best strategies to enter either the United States or Canada as a foreign visitor (see for example Celebration '90, 1990[9]).

By the early 1990s, the policing of homosexual movement across borders was done *ipso facto* through a ban on granting entrance to people with HIV/AIDS. This outcome has frightening resonance with the early homophile movement's 'successful' fight in the early 1970s to remove the category of homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder from the American Psychiatric Association's (1994)

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[9] In 1990, Celebration '90 ended their information sheet with the following: "Although the temptation and need may exist to challenge and confront the issues of our day, we recommend that Canada Immigration and Customs not become that platform. Celebration '90 will not have facilities available to influence these officials on your behalf should you create or find yourself in a problem situation" (Celebration '90, 1990, p. 1).

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (referred to more commonly as the *DSM*). As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1993) suggests, while the removal of homosexuality from the *DSM* was hailed as a major success, in practice the psychiatric industry has simply shunted queer people into a Gender Identity Disorder diagnosis with arguably even more pernicious effects[10]. A similar dynamic appeared to be operating with the hailed victory of removing the ban on homosexual border travel, but discursively, many of the same people were caught in the HIV/AIDS snare. The policing of the movement of homosexuals was then displaced onto people with HIV/AIDS (most of whom would be presumed (accurately or not) to be gay) and their entry to the US was barred. It was an instructive reminder yet again of how discourses of regulative homophobia quietly and productively function.

Border entry for Gay Games participants with HIV/AIDS had long been an agenda item for the organisers. In 1988, when San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos was setting the terms under which San Francisco would bid for USOC approval to host the 96 Summer Olympics, he indicated that securing USOC support and assistance to change immigration laws to allow homosexual visitors would be "appropriate and helpful" (Agnos, 1988, p. 4). American immigration law had refused entry to homosexuals since 1917 with the passage of the Immigration Act. At that time, in tandem with the Public Health Service, the definition of someone who was "found 'mentally defective' or who had a 'constitutional psychopathic inferiority'" included homosexuals who disclosed their sexual orientation (Davis, 1999, p.1). The definition was continued with the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, and the homophobic language strengthened in 1965 when Congress amended the act to specifically add sexual deviation in the determination of a psychopathic personality. This law remained on the books until the Immigration Act of 1990 was enacted "which withdrew the phrase 'sexual deviation' from the INA so that it could no longer by used as a basis for barring

[10] The book *Last time I wore a dress* is a particularly chilling account of this phenomenon

US entry to homosexuals" (Davis, 1999, p.1). Border entry for gays and lesbians was no longer the issue. Entry for people with HIV was.

In the fall of 1990, Unity '94 and the FGG had to deal with some unexpected resistance to the Gay Games from within the gay community itself. ACT-UP[11] New York voted on October 22, 1990 to boycott the Gay Games by encouraging people to refuse to donate money, or volunteer time, energy or expertise to organise the games. ACT-UP's charges against the Gay Games (including the FGG) were sent in a letter to Unity '94. The grievances involved not including HIV status in the Gay Games' inclusion policy, not addressing the American INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) policy on HIV infected visitors, not including lesbian in the Gay Games title, and for not "being sensitive to women, people of color, the elderly, the handicapped, and those unable to afford to participate" (White, 1990, p.16). A disenchanted ACT-UP New York member, Joe Franco, who had participated in Gay Games II and III, primarily prompted the boycott. The ill-conceived action was called off by ACT-UP three weeks later on November 12. In the print media, various ACT-UP members publicly chastised Franco for not verifying his claims (for example, the FGG mission statement did explicitly acknowledge HIV status in its inclusion paragraph) or trying to engage the Gay Games in any kind of constructive dialogue. ACT-UP spokespersons acknowledged the damage done to efforts to organise the Gay Games (White, 1990).

(Scholinski & Adams, 1997).

[11] In the late 1980s, a new group of direct action activists formed called ACT UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power). Made up of disgruntled and disenchanted dykes and fags, its purposes were to create direct change to fight the apathy and purposive inaction of government, medical, and pharmaceutical agencies. It was also an expression of frustration with the assimilationist and bureaucratised AIDS industry (Vaid, 1995). ACT UP was proudly and defiantly prosex, to directly counter the 'de-gaying' of the majority of the AIDS movement (Schwartz, 1993). From 1987 until 1992, ACT UP raised money through grassroots means, carried out multiple direct actions (akin to the zaps of early gay liberation) including such spectacular disruptions as halting trading on the New York Stock Exchange, stopping traffic on the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, and disrupting mainstream news broadcasts (Halperin, 1995). Its direct action activism attracted national media attention and took centre stage briefly in the gay and lesbian movement (Vaid, 1995).

While the FGG received no official confirmation from ACT-UP that they had called off the boycott, co-president Rick Peterson wrote to Joe Franco and ACT-UP, responding in detail to their concerns (FGG Executive 1990e, 1991a). Unity '94 was also praised by the FGG Executive Committee for working "hard and fast on location in New York to set the record right, while at the same time making it quite clear that ideas for improving the execution of the Gay Games' philosophy of inclusiveness are always welcomed and appreciated" (Grey and Peterson, 1991, p. 1). Around the time of this skirmish, both the Lambda Legal Defence Fund (a US national gay and lesbian legal aid group) and GLAAD (Gays and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) approached the FGG about the possibility of engaging in a cooperative effort to monitor and urge change on US immigration policy, especially regarding lesbian and gay visitors to US, and visitors entering with HIV/AIDS (FGG Executive, 1990e; Grey and Peterson, 1991).

The ACT-UP controversy provoked the FGG to get serious in its lobbying of the US federal government. In June of 1991, the infamous Joe Franco contacted the FGG again, asking if they would sign a multi-organisation statement protesting the INS policy on HIV. The Gay Games IV organisation, Unity '94, had already signed the document (FGG Executive, 1991c). The FGG Executive Committee decided in a 3-1 vote, not to sign the statement, and instead the FGG co-presidents drafted a letter to then US President, George Bush, Sr. (FGG Executive, 1991d). In their letter, Rick Peterson and Peg Grey asked Bush "to take a leadership role in making sure HIV is removed from the Immigration and Naturalization Service's list of exclusionary diseases" (1991, p. 1). In the revisionist history of the FGG, the story of how Gay Games IV got the HIV immigration waiver starts here, with no mention of the 'other' complaints raised by the initial ACT-UP boycott (Federation, 1994). Questions of access for women, people of colour, people with disabilities, and individuals of lesser economic means were left aside for the most part, overshadowed and precluded by HIV immigration issues. While many of the

conditions of possibility for Gay Games III in Vancouver came from 'outside' protests, it was an 'internal' protest from within the gay community, a protest that initially was only partially focused on HIV issues. In the end, it did get the immigration waiver process started, but HIV issues became the sole focus.

While no direct connection could be asserted, San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos had demanded of the USOC that they assist the Gay Games in lobbying the US federal government to change immigration laws that would allow homosexual and HIV-infected visitors entry to the United States. Less than five years later, the USOC was indeed crucial in providing the FGG with the names of influential contacts in the US State Department who could shift the admission rules for HIV+ visitors for Gay Games IV. During the first six months of 1993, FGG officials determined that the best strategy for the Games was to seek 'designated event status' akin to that granted to the International Conference on AIDS which was held in San Francisco in 1990. By November 1993, FGG co-presidents Susan Kennedy and Rick Peterson had met with senior officials in the US State Department, the INS, and the Department of Health and Human Services to coordinate designated event status for Gay Games IV (which was officially conferred in January 1994) and to negotiate a ten day immigration waiver for visitors who were HIV+ (which US Attorney General Janet Reno signed in March 1994). HIV infected individuals were able to enter the US to participate at the Gay Games without requiring special visas or applications between June 15 and 25, 1994 (Federation, 1994).

Bill Clinton, in his 1992 presidential campaign, had promised to change the HIV restriction policy across the board. He had been unable to get the changes through Congress in 1992, and in an additional insult to gay voters, had backed down from his gays in the military promise as well (Greenhouse, 1994; Mills, 1994). Speculatively, agreeing to the waiver for the Gay Games may have been a compensatory gesture aimed at the gay vote. However, a potentially pre-emptive,

bureaucratic oops might have derailed the process. An internal draft memo from the State Department, outlining what Reno might sign, was accidentally sent to all American diplomatic and consular posts in February 1994 (Mills, 1994; Smith, 1994a). The press picked up the story as a done deal before it was actually signed (Smith, 1994a). The Justice Department objected, indicating that the Attorney General had not yet made up her mind on this delicate political issue (Greenhouse, 1994). As could have been predicted, there was immediate outcry from Republican Members of Congress. Lamar Smith, a Texan Congressman, headed up the Republican resistance, citing "disastrous results" for public health and safety, and providing safe haven for "normally ineligible persons...to disappear into American society...and reappear in our already over-burdened health care system... No matter how compelling a cause may seem, it does not mitigate the seriousness of this disease" (Smith, 1994b, p.1). A month later, Reno used her discretionary authority to issue the waiver, however it was shortened to ten days from an earlier 30-day proposal (Federation, 1994; Mills, 1994).

While the granting of the waiver was hailed as a major victory for the Gay Games, and a coming of age in terms of lobbying serious national institutions, the waiver itself still policed and surveilled the HIV+ body. The conditions of the waiver were such that while one wrote N/A (not applicable) on the visa application question, which referred to their HIV status, it still identified that individual as HIV+ when cross-referenced with the designated event of the Gay Games. There were assurances that individuals who applied and got this visa would not have to take an HIV test, nor be questioned about their HIV condition. Gay Games officials actually held an awareness training in-service for US Port of Entry officials that worked at key entry points for Gay Games IV. If an individual chose not to apply for the special waiver, they could apply through normal channels or, if they chose not to disclose their HIV+ status, assumed all the legal risks that entailed (Federation, 1994; FGG Board, 1994).

Gay Games IV in New York City was a huge, complicated undertaking. They were corporately more successful than any other previous Games, they utilised big name spaces like Yankee Stadium and successfully used famous athletes like Bruce Hayes, Greg Louganis and Martina Navratilova to best media advantage. The waiver issue exemplifies how the Gay Games were dovetailing with the mainstream gay rights political model that was prevalent in the American context in the 1990s. To fully embrace the minority-rights model of political organisation, a public collective identity had to be established. Gay and lesbian communities had produced such an identity through organised celebrations, cultural institutions, political agendas, shared oppression, and gay/lesbian neighbourhoods (Gamson, 1995). The Gay Games and Cultural Events fit perfectly into this model. An elaborate and complex political machine had invested itself in the mainstream political, legislative, and legal systems to fight for same sex freedoms and rights. In the US, this included several gay and lesbian political organisations with multi-million dollar annual budgets and national lobbying forces in Washington that actively promoted and organised the power of a gay block vote (Vaid, 1995). By 1994, the Gay Games and Cultural Events had definitely taken their place at this table, liaising and coordinating with many of these organisations including the NGLTF (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force), GLAAD, and the Lambda Legal Defence Fund among others.

The overall effect of this was to continue the discourse that was produced in Vancouver. Gays and lesbians were just like mythic "normal" people, except that they celebrated pride. As a member of the board for the 1994 New York Games suggested, "every four years for a few days in the summer, the Gay Games defines us as a coherent, diverse population of our own, asserting our right to celebrate ourselves - not ask for someone else's approval. It is the ultimate manifestation of self-esteem" (Northrop, 1994, p. 129). Against this assertion of self-definition and self-approval however, were the insistent echoes of being seen as 'being good'. In a report to the FGG Board of Directors, the co-presidents crowed about securing

the waiver. "Throughout our dealings with the Federal Government, we have been complimented on our professional approach and our overall attitude" (Kennedy & Peterson, 1994). These Gay Games officials were not shameful, queer perverts. They were proud, successful professionals who were doing a good job of keeping shame at bay.

Identity politics in the 1990s - New York and Amsterdam

As the nineties progressed, certain types of gays and lesbians could enjoy greater visibility and acceptance in some segments of North American and European culture. Pride discourses had produced mainstreamed gays and lesbians as an acceptable social subject. For some gays and lesbians, the 'threat of the homosexual', which produced homophobic social sanction, was easing in historical context. The implicit shame that kept lesbians and gays in the closet, silent, or hidden was mitigated to an extent. By 1994, the FGG and New York organisers had adopted a new slogan, "Games can change the world" (Unity '94, 1994), which tacitly claimed that the Gay Games and Cultural Events were an important part of a shift in the acceptance of gays and lesbians in middle America.

The very limited academic literature on the Gay Games reiterated this gay pride discourse, claiming the event to be resistive to heteronormative athletic events and a wonderful expression of gay and lesbian vitality and open-mindedness (Donnelly, 1996; Krane & Romont, 1997; Krane & Waldron, 2000). The Gay Games, through their drive for success as a huge spectacle of gay pride, had privileged a particular type of gay or lesbian. The Gay Games identity presents an acceptable homosexual minority to the general public - people who are productive and healthy citizens. The gay pride that is celebrated at the Gay Games privileges those who are typically well off, white, healthy or actively involved in regulatory health regimes, clean, desexualised, and not ambiguously gendered.

While I have been arguing that it was a tabooed societal queer shame that has been psychically motivating the Gay Games through overt expressions of gay pride, the discursive dynamic shifts somewhat in the lead up to the 1994 Gay Games. It is a homophobic shame that continues to lurk, but it may be considered a new kind of homophobia. A newly emancipated, normalised, Gay Games gay and lesbian is distinct from the poor, coloured, queer, transgendered, transsexual Other within its own 'community'. I want to briefly discuss two of these identity markers and their effects. Part of this acceptance for a Gay Games identity was becoming economically incorporated, and part of it was ensuring that traditional gender boundaries remained intact. The New York and Amsterdam Games showed the disparities between queers that the inclusion rhetoric just could not paper over.

As the Visa protest in the late 1980s exemplified, the disruptive and political gay identity of the late 1980s and early 1990s had to soften its stance. The so-called 'pink market', the gay and lesbian niche market, emerged in the 1990s (Gluckman & Reed, 1997). But with this acknowledgement by capital, sexual identity had to be made palatable and unthreatening. To pull off these huge cultural events, corporate sponsorship was necessary. The event promoted assimilated, normalised gays or lesbians to attract mainstream sponsors. Until 1994, the Gay Games had used a local business backer program, encouraging local gay and lesbian businesses to support the Games. With a multi-million dollar budget, the New York Games had to play in bigger leagues. The FGG and Unity '94 hired professional consultants to advise them on how to promote, corporately fund raise and manage the multi-million dollar spectacle. The FGG negotiated, for Gay Games IV, the largest single corporate sponsor, Miller Beer, for a gay and lesbian event at that time. Kodak and Tzabaco were also major underwriters during the 1998 Games (FGG Strategic, 1998).

Participating in the Gay Games was (and continues to be) an expensive holiday, especially in 1994 in New York City - one of the most expensive cities in the world. In 1994, a resistive website appeared in cyberspace called the 'Pay Games', which explicitly suggested that only decidedly middle class, professional gays and lesbians really had access to the event. I have only ever been told about this website, and unfortunately it has disappeared from cyberspace (C. Van Ingen, personal communication, October, 1999). However, by 1998, the FGG started to acknowledge the feedback they had received regarding concerns that they were elitist. Not only were hotels too expensive, but they were price gouging (a large problem in Amsterdam in 1998), participation fees were too high, the party prices prohibitive, and even the basic costs of travelling to the Games were out of reach of many (FGG Strategic, 1998). There was *de facto* exclusion occurring because many gay or lesbian athletes could not afford to attend and this problem started to surface publicly at Gay Games IV through actions like the ACT-UP protest, even though the class issues were buried in the end by the HIV immigration issue.

Class issues were not the only fractures in the inclusion rhetoric. Any dissident sexual identities - transgendered identities, the leather community, biker dykes and others - have necessarily been made invisible by Gay Games organisers. As I have already noted, in 1990, all cultural events involving the word queer were forced to change their names and not use the word. In 1998, at the Amsterdam Games, an American FGG member was very concerned that the press focussed inordinately on nipple rings and leather and not the athletics (Dermody, 1998a). An Associated Press story was described as reading like a horror story:

> Hundreds of men in drag clad in leather veils to leather G-strings, bare chested men with nipple jewelry skating through town, sports such as ballroom dancing and oil wrestling, hardcore homosexuals were running their own Queer Do-It-Yourself Games featuring purse-tossing and a 200

> metre dash in high heels, the Dutch wildly cheer a parade of boatloads of transvestites (Dermody, 1998a, p.1-2).

This particular FGG board member was livid with this coverage and insisted that the Games be more assertive in portraying themselves as a 'serious', conventional athletic competition. Desexualising and sanitising the Gay Games image has been prominent (Probyn, 2000). Early in the FGG's existence, Board discussions about requirements in contractual details with host cities included concerns about 'taste'. "Is it sufficiently covered in our agreements? Say if the host city allows the use of the [FGG] logo in a pornographic ad. Is there any redress?" (FGG Executive, 1990a, p.1). The FGG felt compelled to control the visitor documentation that the Amsterdam organisers were producing. In a 'New Visitors' brochure, concern was expressed about a notice describing where to go for backroom sex under a Sexuality heading (FGG Executive, 1998a)[12].

Even gentle gender bending through clothing was policed at the 1998 Games in Amsterdam. There was some controversy over the issue of dance costume 'transvestism' in 1998 at the Amsterdam Games. The organising committee for the Ballroom Dance competition had initially suggested that transvestism would not be appreciated at the event. This translated, as male competitors would be penalised for wearing skirts, whereas women would not be penalised for wearing pants (FGG Executive, 1998c). This suggestion drew a variety of dissenting responses, including protests that transvestism was an important way of queering the event for the Gay Games. Conversely, others did not want to "mimic a 'hetero' image". Yet another group believed that ballroom dancing, at the best of times, had to struggle to be considered a serious sporting event, and 'fancy dress' of any

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[12] In October 1993, when Amsterdam was in the bidding competition to host the 1998 Games, they produced a glossy, black and white photo book as a support document to their bid package. Many of the photos depicted explicit leather S/M scenes and gender bending. It was an interesting look into a different Dutch sensibility about what a Gay Games' sexuality could accommodate. My handwritten note to myself from my archival research work was "pretty risqué for the FGG!". After

kind (transvestite or otherwise) took away from the legitimate athleticism of the event ("Dancing Information", 1998, p. 16).

It was this final discourse that the Working Group for the dance competition finally privileged, suggesting that anyone could participate ('transvestite' or not) in any form of costume - "within the accepted rules of decency... Given the intense media interest that we expect for the Dance Competitions, we want to be sure that press coverage is given to the achievements of the competition and its participants, and not sidelined into other issues." Another section of a Dancing brochure specifically addresses how organisers and competitors should interact with the press ("Organisation", 1998). The assumption that everyone would share an understanding of what constituted 'accepted rules of decency' belies the disciplinary power of a normative understanding of what was 'appropriate' gay or lesbian behaviour, and that the Gay Games notion of pride would protect the competition from any serious disruptions that might be 'too queer'. Privileging serious athleticism kept the Gay Games athlete in check, making sure there was no freakish or distasteful threat to an assimilated athletic pride.

The International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) formally complained to all levels of Gay Games V, citing the policy against transvestism as being potentially transphobic, discriminating against those who cross-dressed in their transgendered lives. Emails were sent to the Ballroom Dance Working Group Coordinators, to the Executive Director of Stichting, the organising group for the Amsterdam Games, and finally a meeting was requested with the FGG Executive Director (Levy, 1998; Negroni, 1998). The IGLHRC was concerned that the discouragement of transvestism was not only *not* rescinded after complaints were made to Ballroom Dance organisers, but that in fact it was actually "reaffirmed in language that [could] only be considered prejudiced and inflammatory". The dance organisers refused to state a policy that trans-activists

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having spent days wading through very dry Gay Games adminstrivia documentation, this little

believed would not discriminate against transvestites who identified as gay or lesbian. The IGLHRC was left to state the obvious:

> This policy is even more disturbing when one considers that the Dance Competition is expressly being built [*sic*] as 'one of the high profile sports during the intense media coverage of the Gay Games' in order to increase 'the self-worth and self-respect of lesbians and gay men'. The Gay Games should not seek to get gay visibility and self-worth by further invisibilizing and denigrating another section of our community. The Gay Games should represent the full diversity of our community, including those who elect to dress in clothing of another gender...We hope that you and the Committee will consider emitting a public apology to the transgender community and others who might cross dress and identify as gay and lesbian and had to endure the insult that a policy such as this represents (Negroni, 1998, p. 4-5).

The request and the intent/attempt to draw attention to the impossibility of the Gay Games inclusion ideal were fastidiously ignored. In fact it was echoed in another battle the IGLHRC was fighting in 1998.

The challenge posed to the gender regime by transvestism in 1998 was joined by a protest against the Gay Games policy on gender transitioning athletes. Transgender issues already had a bit of a history at the Gay Games, a short story in which conservative forces triumphed after a policy 'concession' for the New York Games. The first references I found in the archives referring to a transgender policy for the Gay Games was a proposal introduced at the 1992 FGG Annual Board Meeting (Thomson, 1992). To avert an expected confrontation, the FGG was being encouraged to proactively set up regulations and requirements consistent with the Gay Games philosophy of inclusion before a problem arose.

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treasure seemed a shocking treat (Amsterdam photo, 1993)!

From the beginning, fairness and consistency within the sporting events has been a serious justification for the disciplinary surveillance (Van Tassell, 1998). "Gender dysphoric-conflicted participants" (as they were then referred to) were to follow a set of rules and guidelines set out by the FGG. It was proposed that it

> will not be difficult ... if a Gender Dysphoric individual has been serious about what they are doing and have been following the 'Standards of Care'. These 'Standards' set requirements in order for an individual to successfully and in a healthy manner complete their transitioning process and have sexual reassignment surgery (Thomson, 1992, p. 2).

The requirements proposed in 1992 have remained relatively unchanged. They included: Proof of a completed legal name change to match the desired gender role; Letter from medical physician stating that participant has been actively involved in hormone treatment for at least one year and explain current health condition; Letter from mental health therapist stating that participant had been actively involved in therapy for at least 18 months, had emotionally and psychologically transitioned, and why it would be impossible or severely detrimental for this individual to participate in their biologically born gender; Letter from medical surgeon stating types of sex reassignment surgery already completed; Proof of participant's cross-living and employment for at least two years; Transitioning male to female participants will need to have had all identifying male facial hair removed; Identified post-operative transsexuals will be treated equally as their legal gender implies; And finally, transvestites, cross-dressers, 'transgenderists', and drag queens were not included in these policies for transsexuals. Non-transsexuals were to compete in their biologically born gender. The policy proposal ended with the statement that the regulations were to be put in place to protect and ensure the philosophies of both the Gay Games and gender transitioning athletes (Thomson, 1992, p. 2-3).

Between the fall of 1992 and summer 1993, further consultations with the 'Gender Community' were carried out[13] and the policies remained intact except for the removal of the medical surgeon requirement, identified post-operative transsexuals was changed to those who comply will be treated equally, and the final tag about transvestites *et al.* was left off. Nevertheless, the extreme disciplinary surveillance by a group of gay men and lesbians was unconscionable. In attempting to sell the New York organisers on the policies, Deb Ann Thomson (1993b) suggested that

> from past experiences, the issue around the Gender-Transitioning participant has been quite touchy. There is little doubt that this issue will again arise in Gay Games IV....the wording used for this Policy is neutral in their political arena in order to avoid any perceived partiality on our part (p.1).

Whose political arena in which Thomson thought she was being neutral is anybody's guess. In the winter of 1994, a transsexual woman signed up to compete for Gay Games IV and was repeatedly referred to as 'sir' and told that she would likely have to compete as a man. This provoked the ire of the activist group Transexual Menace, who started leafleting Gay Games activities. Ann Northrop, a Unity '94 board member, was one of the first to receive their leaflets and she invited them to address the New York Games organising committee. Representatives from three trans groups engaged in heated discussion with the Gay Games board. As Riki Anne Wilchins, representing three trans groups, wrote

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[13] In her letter encouraging the organising executive committee for the New York Games to adopt these guidelines, FGG Vice President Deb Ann Thomson outlined the "outstanding, reputable, and legal resources" which were consulted. These included the International Foundation for Gender Education, Gulf Coast Transgender Community, Mid America Gender Group Information Exchange, Kansas City CAF, Iowa Artistry, St. Louis Gender Foundation, River City Gender Alliance, Wichita Transgender Alliance, Gender Identity Center of Colorado and two attorneys. Thomson encouraged Unity '94 to avail themselves of her apparent wisdom and abilities in dealing with this 'population'. "Nationally, I am considered to be a 'Professional Expert' on the topic. With this in mind, I am more than willing to volunteer my knowledge and expertise to you" (Thomson, 1993, p. 2).

after that meeting in a letter of protest to the Board, "The requirements are unduly restrictive and, among all the diverse groups competing in the Games, succeed in uniquely stigmatising transgender/transsexual people" (Wilchins, 1997, p.75).

While explaining the obvious (that some non-trans individuals 'naturally' have elevated testosterone or chromosomal anomalies and the Gay Games do not test for either), Wilchins also noted the undue burden of invasion of privacy, the "so breathtakingly transphobic and offensive as to beggar description" requirement of a letter from a personal therapist[14], that Wilchins herself would volunteer to institute a universal panty check of all participants if the Gay Games thought it so important, and that the policies in place were arrived at without the knowledge, participation or consent of transgender/transsexual people. An apt parallel was drawn to Anita Hill, whereby those who were sitting in judgement of one's life experience had nothing in common with the surveilled[15]. The objections ended with, "The current requirements being imposed upon us are demeaning in their inception, invasive in their application, and arbitrary in their scope. They suck" (Wilchins, 1997, p. 76-77).

To the credit of the New York organisers (and according to Wilchins, a lot of behind the scenes work by Ann Northrop), they overruled the FGG policies and adopted the suggestion that the coalition of trans groups had put forth. For the New York Games in 1994, transsexuals and transgendered individuals were encouraged to compete in the "sex role in which they live[d] their normal daily lives" (Wilchins, 1997, p. 77). Andrew Velez, a New York in '94 board member who advocated for the change, suggesting that the Gay Games had not been

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[14] Wilchins continued with the following analogy. "How would the Gay Games like it if an Olympic athlete wanted to compete as openly gay, and the U.S. Olympic Committee required a letter from their personal therapist (you all have them, of course) explaining why it would be 'impossible or detrimental' for them to compete as straight" (1997, p. 76)?

[15] One of the ongoing demands by the trans coalition, which addressed the Gay Games IV board, was that the Gay Games actively involve the trans community in its organisation and decision-making. Communication lines had to be set up directly so that "you [the Gay Games] need never

radical enough, and even though they would take some heat, they had a responsibility to change the offensive policy (Wilchins, 1997). And the board took heat from the Sports Committee and the specific sport organising groups. The new transgender policy supposedly would not be workable, and for the sports that were sanctioned by mainstream sport organisations, sanctioning would be revoked. Loss of monies, sanctioning and officials were invoked and there were complaints from various sports chairs that they were not consulted on a policy that so clearly affected how they ran their events and competitors (Quarto, 1994). The discourse that 'real' sport needed to be protected was relentless.

The disciplinary regimes of sport and gender clashed. A supposed queering of the Gay Games was resisted. I will return to the necessity of this discourse dissonance in my final chapter. While the Gay Games may have been a homosexualised space, they were not generally a queer space. The event worked very hard to reinscribe dominant gender discourses. All athletic events were still divided into the familiar binary of men and women's categories, a necessity for sport and gender regimes. The brave stance taken by the New York organisers was short lived. In the 1998 Amsterdam registration booklets, the regulations requiring medical and psychological verification of sex were once again required ("Gay Games Amsterdam", 1998). The ILGHRC once again, with Riki Anne Wilchins as a signatory, formally complained about the transphobic policies of the FGG, to no avail in 1998 (IGLHRC, 1998). While the Gay Games rhetoric wanted to produce space so that no athletes were left outside, there was always and necessarily a constitutive outside produced in that inclusionary impulse. It was those who were more queer or too queer (or in Riki Anne Wilchins words - "*queerer*") who were still left abjected (p. 78).

The examples of expressions of gay pride that I have outlined in this chapter are only a brief and incomplete rendering of a plethora of other Gay Games pride

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again go in search of the mythical nontransexual 'expert in transexuality'. You can feel entirely

invocations. They all share, in their meaning making, the psychic necessity of keeping shame at bay. The rage that the ego ideal expresses towards the ego (the ego which has incorporated the lost object of the shaming Olympics) is symbolically expressed in prideful expression. The shame that was lost with the prohibited Olympics in 1982 is still operational in Gay Games discourse today. This dynamic is not unique to the Gay Games. Consider this parallel reading of lesbian identity:

> Shame is a foundational moment in lesbian identity, and, I am arguing, butch/femme identity. Like most psychic structures its pattern is to repeat. We interminably reconstitute our lesbian pride out of shame. (Perhaps we need to reconsider Judith Butler's claim that the origin of gender identity resides in melancholia). By addressing shame, we can reforge the bond, not with the original parent, nor with the symbolic blaming parent - social opprobrium - but with each other. This *is* a survival issue: we can learn to actively forget the pain, panic, and apathy of shame. The aim is not to magically commute shame into pride but to revision shame as facilitating a kind of agency or motility (Munt, 1998, p. 7).

I want to pick up on these comments from Sally Munt and connect them to an idea Judith Butler (1997) proposes to get out from under the conundrum of "identification opposing desire" or that "desire must be fuelled by repudiation" (p.150). In my final section I want to briefly consider how we might reforge (in Munt's terms) and salvage desire in a Gay Games context. The original loss for the Gay Games was double barrelled. There was the homophobic loss of the word Olympic because it was attached to Gay, and that repudiation has led to the incessant Gay Games gay pride discourses. However, the Gay Games also lost the Olympics, and have, as an organisation endeavoured to meet the disciplinary and performative demands of conventional sport. In my concluding section, I

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comfortable talking to us about us" (Wilchins, 1997, p. 78).

tentatively offer an exploration of what 'queering' conventional sport demands might mean for the Gay Games to resolve their melancholic identification.

Section IV: A Queer Conclusion

Part One - Mourning the Olympics: The necessity of the parody of sport

At the beginning of this project, I set out two major tasks for myself. I wanted to explore the conditions of possibility for the emergence of the Gay Games and Cultural Events, and I wanted to engage a queer theoretical reading of the event. I have spent the bulk of my time and energy outlining the conditions of possibility through the loss of the word 'Olympic' and the founder, Tom Waddell. I have traced certain aspects of the historical psychic effects of the melancholic conditions of possibility through a depiction of the social effects which emanate from the love/hate dynamic produced within the Gay Games ego. I have argued that these have been produced through a prohibited, unspeakable queer shame and the social trajectories of gay pride discourses at the Gay Games. Concomitantly, an undying love for a prohibited Olympic-style sport persists.

I end with a brief, and perhaps cheeky, queer reading for the Gay Games. As I have construed them, the historical dynamics of the Gay Games have not presented terribly compelling queer intrusions. This is not to say that queer moments have never happened at the Games. I am sure a different history could tell that story. Within the context of my reading of the melancholic Gay Games however, I want to explore, through a potentially hyperbolic[1] example, how sport must be queered. The gendered performative of sport must be contested in ways which draw attention to the conventionally masculinised demands of the sporting enterprise. This disruption of conventional sport, is a means of defiling sport, of transgressing Olympic purity. As I outline below, the loss of Olympic must be re-experienced a second time, and I want to suggest that parodying the tenuous demands of conventional sport should be a fitting way to finally externalise rage against the Olympics.

Throughout this project I have been telling a particular historical narrative about the Gay Games and Cultural Events. One of the reasons I have chosen to weave the story I have is that it seems to have 'worked' in terms of a psychoanalytic reading of melancholia. Rather than consider gender melancholia, as Judith Butler does in part of her 1997 book *Psychic life of power,* I have considered how processes of melancholia have produced a proud Gay Games, and through that a certain type of identity which is disciplined through the event. The history of Tom Waddell's life, the realisation of his dream of a Gay Games, the loss of the Olympic battle and Waddell's nearly simultaneous death have provided the historical and discursive legacies of loss which produced a certain Gay Games ego. Waddell's death and the homophobic prohibition on the word 'Olympic' are "abandonment[s] that [are] refused and, as refused, [are] incorporated. In this sense, to refuse a loss is to become it" (Butler, 1997, p. 187). But in becoming that loss and prohibition, they become unspeakable. "What cannot be declared by the melancholic is nevertheless what governs melancholic speech - an unspeakability that organizes the field of the speakable." The Gay Games lost shame is unspeakable, and organises the pride speech acts. So I tell the stories I do about attachments to Waddell and Olympism discourses, and relay how prideful exhortations of inclusion organise, discipline and necessarily exclude participants at the Gay Games.

If we take Butler's (and by extension Foucault's) argument that to become a subject one must be subjectivated, and every subject is subjected to the beratement by a critical agency through a melancholic production, the Gay Games can be no exception. For the Gay Games, love and hate dynamics (which characterise melancholia) were produced when a lost object and ideal (Waddell and the Olympics respectively) were not let go in the external world and were brought inside to the Gay Games' ego. The love for that object and ideal are retained psychically, but there is also a turn, in which the anger that would have been

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[1] Butler (1997) herself suggests that her "logic of repudiation...is in some ways a hyperbolic

expressed at losing the object and/or being prohibited from the ideal, are brought 'inside'. As Butler puts it, the object is retained psychically "to continue the quarrel" within a productive psychic economy. The ego is produced through this turn, and the critical agency which would have levelled criticisms against that which was lost or prohibited in the external world, now turns its attention to the ego, which stands in to maintain the object which has not been let go.

So while subjects are continually motivated (and egos are contained) through melancholic beratements, the process is absolutely necessary to their genesis. However, as I mentioned earlier, psychoanalysis also identifies a death drive, which subjects must also resist. "The work of melancholia may well be in the service of the death drive" (Butler, 1997, p. 188). Butler had visited the perils of this death instinct in her earlier 1990 book, *Gender trouble*:

> Freud conceptualizes the ego in the perpetual company of the ego ideal which acts as moral agency of various kinds. The internalized losses of the ego are reestablished as part of this agency of moral scrutiny, the internalization of anger and blame originally felt for the object in its external mode. In the act of internalization, that anger and blame, inevitably heightened by the loss itself, are turned inward and sustained; the ego changes place with the internalized object, thereby investing this internalized externality with moral agency and power. Thus, the ego forfeits its anger and efficacy to the ego ideal which turns against the very ego by which it is sustained; in other words, the ego constructs a way to turn against itself. *Indeed, Freud warns of the hypermoral possibilities of this ego ideal, which, taken to its extreme, can motivate suicide* (Butler, 1990, p. 62, my emphasis).

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theory" (p. 149).

As I outlined in Part 1 of Section II, the ego ideal, the critical agency that levels indictments against the ego, is gay pride at the Gay Games. It is the constant expression of gay pride which berates the shame lost with the Olympics. In a counterintutive move, the overt expressions of gay pride at the Gay Games could well be, if left unchecked, motivating the death of the event that pride is commonly seen to prop up. As Chapter 5 reports, the more 'successful' the Games become, the grander the claims to pride. "Games can change the world" (FGG Brochure).

Both Judith Butler (1997) and Sally Munt (1998) suggest that there might be a way out of the seemingly impossible bind of implicitly homophobic, gender melancholia. As Munt writes, "We can learn to actively forget the pain, panic, and apathy of shame. The aim is not to magically commute shame into pride but to revision shame as facilitating a kind of agency or mobility" (Munt, 1998, p. 7). The Gay Games has spent the last twenty years trying to commute shame into pride. It may be time to stop banging their head against the brick wall. As Butler suggests, "We are made all the more fragile under such rules, and all the more mobile when ambivalence and loss are given a dramatic language in which to do their acting out" (Butler, 1997, p. 150). So too, I want to suggest in this concluding chapter, is there a potential for the Gay Games to rework their psychic and disciplinary dependence on gay pride. I want to suggest that the Gay Games has to embrace a certain ambivalence to conventional sport, they have to let go of the Olympics, they have to actively forget shaming sport.

In "Mourning and Melancholia", Freud suggested that melancholics could not actually mourn their losses. The only way to really grieve the loss was to work through the process of mourning where one learned to symbolise the lost object and truly let it go (Butler, 1990; Gay, 1989). Later in his work, Freud reworked the oppositional nature between mourning and melancholy, and as Butler has

suggested, melancholia became a precondition for mourning, the two processes being complementary and necessary parts of grieving:

> Freud suggests in 'The Ego and the Id' that the identification process associated with melancholia may be the 'the sole condition under which the id can give up its objects'. In other words, the identification with lost loves characteristic of melancholia becomes the precondition for the work of mourning. The two processes, originally conceived as oppositional, are now understood as integrally related aspects of the grieving process (Butler, 1990, p. 62).

I want to suggest that for the Gay Games to open themselves up to other ways of being, to get out from under the tyranny of heteronormative gender regimes which are sustained in a strange way through this very proud, homosexual spectacle, they need to mourn their prohibitions and their losses. In fact, it may be the case that the Gay Games must mourn their losses, for if they don't, their declarations of gay pride may intensify to such an extent that it might be argued that they are functioning as a collection of death drives. The prideful beratements of a Gay Games superego occasion the depletion and weakening of its ego, potentially heralding the demise of the organisation. The rage of the superego has to be redirected in order to survive. "The aggression instrumentalized by conscience against the ego is precisely what must be reappropriated in the service of the desire to live" (Butler, 1997, p. 192). Melancholia must become mourning, through what Freud suggested were 'verdicts of reality':

> For the melancholic, breaking the attachment constitutes a second loss of the object. If the object lost its externality when it became a psychic ideal, it now loses its ideality as the ego turns against conscience (the critical agency), thus decentering itself. The judgements of conscience are exchanged for the verdict of reality, and this verdict poses a dilemma for

> the melancholic, namely whether to follow the lost object into death or to seize the opportunity to live....there can be no severing of this attachment to the object without a direct 'declaration' of loss and the desanctification of the object by externalizing aggression against it" (Butler, 1997, p. 192).

For the Gay Games this might mean breaking the attachment to one half of its double barrelled lost objects. Shame and the Olympics were lost in the original prohibition. To prescribe re-experiencing homophobic shame in order to mourn it seems like dicey territory at best. To requote Sally Munt from my introductory section, "I don't want to reinscript a 'cultural probity' of homosexual shame here, reinventing the iconography of victimization, and playing into the hands of homophobia" (Munt, 1998, p. 4). I am not sure that this tricky task is necesssary however to embrace life and escape death for the melancholic Gay Games. Perhaps it is the loss of Olympic that needs to be reworked, the other half of the shame dyad. Perhaps the Gay Games needs to lose its reliance and arguably, fawning adherence to the demands of conventional, high performance sport. By breaking the attachment to Olympic, and its attendant disciplinary discourses, the Gay Games might grieve its losses.

"Survival, not precisely the opposite of melancholia, but what melancholia puts in suspension - requires redirecting rage against the lost other, defiling the sanctity of the dead for the purposes of life, raging against the dead in order not to join them" (Butler, 1997, p.193). Rage against the homophobic loss occurred within the gay community in the late 1980s, particularly in the San Francisco area. The Visa protest and Olympic bid resistances were some examples of this. Perhaps this time round, rage against the Olympics and the demands of conventional high performance sport is required. And implicit in that rage, must be a rage against the conventional heteronormative notions of masculinity and feminity, which keep homophobic shame intact. It is in this performative moment that I think a queer disruption of the Gay Games might be possible.

In reading Butler's 1997 arguments about gender melancholia, it seems to me that her notion of queer performativity as put forth in both *Gender trouble* (1990) and *Bodies that matter* (1993) involves serious disruptions of expected performatives which are psychically contained and motivated, and which, in certain circumstances involve directed rage as well. As an explicit gender performative, the constitutive demands of high performance sport comprise a highly gendered enterprise. Disrupting these demands, calling attention to the necessarily masculinised nature of sport, is the basis of my speculative queering of the Gay Games. Below, I describe a reworking of sport through gender performatives in the Gay Games context and how it might function as a "verdict of reality". It could go a long way to undoing the Olympic sport imperative and the shame implicated in that through its constitutive heteronormative histories and expectations. Conventional sport, crystallised in the Olympics as its best example, was lost - dead - to the Gay Games through the Olympic prohibition. At the Gay Games, sport itself must be "defiled for the sanctity of the dead for the purposes of life, raging against the dead in order not to join them" (Butler, 1997, p. 193).

The following excerpt is taken from an article entitled, "Parody of the Gay Games: Gender performativity in sport", co-authored by myself and Debra Shogan. It was published in *torquere: Journal of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Studies Association* in 1999. Because writing the paper was a collaborative effort, the pronoun 'we' is used throughout.

Parody at Lesbian and Gay Athletic Events: Queering the Gay Games

Disruptions or parodic reconfigurations of gender and/or sexuality often rely on a reading by a straight audience, or the coded reading by a lesbian/gay audience within a heteronormative context. The success of these parodies depends on where the parody is taking place and who is reading it in what context. We think the Gay

Games provides an interesting homosexualised context where exposing sex as a discursive effect is difficult, even within a supposedly "queer" (read: lesbian and gay) event. We are not trying to configure the Gay Games context as outside to discourse, nor are we suggesting that it could be free from heteronormative imperatives. It is, however, a public time and space where homo is expected, not hetero, and we think this may add a twist to how a gender parody might work.

Disrupting gender within a homosexual context, as opposed to a heterosexual context, might transgress the reliance (or lay bare the power function it serves) of the homosexual on the gendered heterosexual. A conventional notion of gay or lesbian still needs the heteronormative function of the traditional gender dyad of male and female. Even though homosexuality operates as heterosexuality's constitutive Other, the construction of male and female as discrete categories locks an understanding of homosexuality (as same-sexed) into the heteronormative logic of reified ideas of male and female difference. The Gay Games' strategy to replace "straight" athletes with "gay" athletes does not always shift these naturalised dominant gender discourses. For the subject to be queer, it cannot be purely oppositional, which effectively reinscribes the dominant notion (in this case, straight athletes) in its reversal:

> The subject who is 'queered' into public discourse through homophobic interpellations of various kinds *takes up* or *cites* that very term as the discursive basis for an opposition. This kind of citation will emerge as *theatrical* to the extent that it *mimes and renders hyperbolic* the discursive convention that it also *reverses*. The hyperbolic gesture is crucial to the exposure of the homophobic 'law' that can no longer control the terms of its own abjecting strategies (Butler, 1993, p. 232).

We want to suggest a queer disruption to gender and sport within a specifically lesbigaytran context. It may be fraught with several tensions that could be

politically troubling as sex/gender discourses do not operate indistinguishably from race, class, and/or physical ability. Often examples of gender parody within sport (gay rodeo competitors in drag, a tutu-clad female 100 meter sprinter, or female hockey players with 'big' hair), take for granted the immediate and apparently 'natural' associations of sport with conventional masculinity. The sporting context is not problematised and the logic of sport as a masculinist enterprise is kept intact. Perhaps one of the reasons that it is difficult to conceive of a masculine female (the lesbian) parodying gender within an unproblematised sporting context is that sport colludes to produce and prop up those typically masculine attributes of overt, aggressive physicality and demonstrations of brute strength and skill. Even though gay athletic events may be gender-bending to some extent, the structure of sport itself remains untouched with these parodic moments.

To the extent that sport is used as the medium with which participants play with gender, parodies of gender will be limited. One exception to this might be the flamingo races which have become a gay swim meet tradition:

> The earnestness of the gay swim meets is usually given its antidote in the camp of the pink flamingo relay, now a standard event at these competitions. The point is for two swimmers from each team to don plastic pink flamingo hats; while one swims the arm pull of the breast stroke, the other does the kick while grasping the legs of the first; at the other end of the pool, they exchange hats and another two complete the race. Over the years this relay has grown into a camp extravaganza, with teams in radical drag making grand entrances. (Pronger, 1990a, p. 275)

This swimming event, while 'bastardising' the breast stroke to some extent, feminises the activity (maybe akin to 'swimming like a girl'), relegating it to the trivial, whereas serious, 'proper' swimming happens in the actual tournament. We

know not to take the athletic aspect of the flamingo race seriously, perhaps just the campy drag aspect. The 'real' swimming competition comes later, proving that fags can be as 'manly' as 'real' straight boys. Because gender parody must be read within the confines of a traditional and conventional frame of masculinity (sport), the space to maneuver subversively within gender performatives is restricted and circumscribed. Consequently, it is our contention that sport might have to be called into question alongside gender and sexuality for drag to work as a disruptive parody in sport.

The masculinities produced through sport participation have been extensively studied and theorised (Messner, 1992; Sabo, 1994; Whitson, 1990). However, sport analysis and criticism does not necessarily problematise the constitutive values and constructs of sport (such as aggressive, violent, muscular prowess, and physical skills) and how conventional masculinity is constitutive of sport. This is demonstrated in the types of sports which are considered 'truly' masculine with violent sports such as football, hockey, and rugby being considered more virile than gymnastics, diving, or figure skating. Consistent with heterosexist masculinity, male athletes in `feminised' sports are often represented as and perhaps are even expected 'to be' homosexuals. This representation is affirmed when considering media coverage of the announcements of HIV-positive status of certain elite athletes. For example, basketball player Magic Johnson was constructed as hyper(hetero)sexual, whereas diver Greg Louganis was assumed to be homosexual. Or as one gay male athlete suggested, "Swimming is not a butch enough sport to discredit accusations that you're queer" (Pronger, 1990a, p. 32).

In his discussion of understanding how Australian pro rugby player Ian Roberts was able to come out and maintain his star status and success, Toby Miller (1998) suggests that perhaps 'being' gay (and male) can be assimilated as long as conventional masculinity is not threatened:

> The 'buff-bodied' gay man became so powerful a stereotype by the 1980s that having bulging huge muscles, a classic 'V-torso', 'washboard' abdominal musculature, and bulging biceps actually suggested to some that a man was homosexual. Of course, this new stereotype led to ... an over-compensation, by men, against older categorisations of effeminacy and physical weakness. Hence many gay men bought into aspects of dominant masculinity, appropriating conventional signifiers of male power and so destabilising its 'straight' monopoly, but also typifying such forms of life as the 'acme' of maleness. This hypermasculinity hardened emotions and bodies - a tribute to the very models that had traditionally excluded and brutalised gays. We could view this development either as countering prevailing ways of seeing gay men or as a gruesome throwback to racist and fascist imagery (a particular affront to gay black men) (p. 198)[2].

Perhaps in certain contexts, it is not 'being' gay that is troublesome. It is the disruption of the heteronormative gender discourse which cannot be tolerated. Ian Roberts does not threaten the very basis of rugby or rugby culture as he maintains the norms of brute strength and physical violence inherent to the sport. If athletic women did not contradict the codes for heteronormative femininity which serious sporting participation demands they do, perhaps the lesbian specter would not loom over women's sport as it does. Or, perhaps if sport did not demand such masculinised skills and performances, might things look different?

<u>The Queering of Sport - Drag Races</u>

> The Drag Races did not involve high-speed cars. They were more like a Crossdresser's Olympics. Every May long weekend, Flashback prepared

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[2] David Halperin (1995) does an interesting alternative reading of the gay male bodybuilding imperative. He suggests, interpreting Foucault, that it is a form of ascesis, an ethical self-fashioning that is distinctly queer, in that gay men bodybuild "differently," eroticising certain body

> for the onslaught of madness. Before the Step-down, before the Crowning, before the queens painted, the staff would arrive, clean the club, warm up the barbecue, and fill up the dunk tank. The alley was blocked off at both ends. The beer cooler was stuffed with wading pools full of lime jello, and I was going over the list of events for the day: Tug of War, Wet T-Shirt, Wet Jockstrap, Skiing for Five, Run Like a Girl/Boy, Waitress Races, Pie Eating Contests, Condom Blowup, Jello Wrestling (later it became Creamed Corn Wrestling), The Foxy Lady Rhinestone Turkey Baster Relay Marathon, The Squeeze-a-Snack Relay Marathon, The DQ Dunk Tank, The Lady Di Faint-A-Like Contest, and of course, The Drag Races, which involved running back and forth in the deep gravel in the alley, gradually layering on women's clothing from the Drag Pit. Naturally, maximum liquor intake was mandatory. (Hagen, 1997, p. 69-70).

We propose drag as a new Gay Games athletic activity which consists of how well each athlete performs the complex physical skills of a gender arbitrarily chosen. The drag event would be a contest of feminised or masculinised physical skills, from walking to dressing to talking to dancing to lip sync to hair management. This would subvert the masculinised sport mantra of faster, stronger, higher (except perhaps when it comes to hair!) and underline Butler's (1990) assertion that while sex and gender may appear to cohere, it can be demonstrated that these categories are arbitrary and that masculine males and feminine females are unstable constructions.

In this drag contest there would be no male and female categories. There would only be representations of the hyperreal status of masculinities and femininities, performed by drag athletes, judged for their parodic successes and technical

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areas, making muscle as desire, using the body as queer erotic image. He argues it is different from 'straight' working out.

prowess. Whether those kings/queens[3] would be caught in variously sexed male or female or transitioning bodies would be irrelevant and immaterial to the judges. The skill with which various bodies and accoutrements could perform highly stylised femininities and/or masculinities would be the relevant and very material focus of this event. It could be camped up, ironised, played with, and performed to their heightened and over-the-top best. Body size and type would not be the coveted edge, but how the diva employs the body in "perfected" gendered comportment. All gender performatives are necessary failures and these failures prop up and reproduce the mythic ideal gender imperative (Butler, 1990, 1993). It is in this athletic site that the performance of gender can be radically removed from its sexed anchor and the rules and objective of the game can make space for a variety of gendered performances.

One of the expressed aims of the Gay Games is to reconfigure sport and make it more participatory (Markwell, 1998). Part of the drag event evaluation protocol might involve audience approval and judgment. Given that in the Gay Games context, a homoerotic sensibility would likely prevail, certain butch and femme aesthetics might come to the fore, supplanting the more staid and contrived male/female distinctions of other more mundane ('straight') athletic events. This queer event, held in the lesbigay context of the Gay Games, may also help resist the heteronormative impulse of some takes on drag in mainstream popular culture such as the films *Tootsie* or *Victor/Victoria*. Here, the threat of the homosexual plot is welcomed (Butler, 1993).

Unlike the current configuration of the Gay Games' athletic events, there are no men's and women's competitions here, and drug testing takes on a whole new meaning and is limited to being able to stand up and perform on the day. There are

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[3] This is an example of how we continue to struggle with the difficulty of writing about bodies without sexing them. Even invoking the terms king and queen, although reversing the typical coherence of gendered comportment to sexed body, still primarily leaves the binary relation intact. This does little to push the discourse of gender in disruptive ways. Rather, it reinscribes the norm through its reversal.

no sex testing procedures, and transitioning athletes do not need documentation 'proving' their sex from presiding physicians and psychiatrists (Thomson, 1993). There are no rules about what level of hormones an athlete is currently taking. What matters is what you look like and how you move: "'Realness' is not exactly a category in which one competes; it is a standard that is used to judge any given performance within the established categories. And yet what determines the effect of realness is the ability to compel belief, to produce the naturalized effect"(Butler, 1993, p. 129).

The name of the game is to take gender and sex to new places; 'do' girls better than women and boys better that men. No matter what morphological form you inhabit, camp it up *boyz* and *grrrls*! The only restrictions are on the wattage of your curling iron, and perhaps, to discourage hypercommodification and globalisation impulses, a very modest cap on the gender campaign budget.

Is "parodying the dominant norms enough to displace them? Indeed, [it calls into question] whether the denaturalization of gender cannot be the very vehicle for a reconsolidation of hegemonic norms" (Butler 1993, p. 125). We think this speculative enterprise can be critically queer. Gender is unhinged from a sexed body. It is performed as a constructed ideal which is complicated, difficult, and requires meticulous and repetitive practice. The performances would be read by a queer audience, many of whom would still ascribe and believe in a naturalness for sex, gender, and, probably, sexuality, but who would likely be literate to some extent in the camp, mime, and parody that gays and lesbians have used for years to identify one another and create cultures for themselves. The performances would be bound to fail, yet would have to be believable. And the rules of the game would not restrict the performances to a dominant set of masculine attributes and ideals, thereby allowing space for athletes to be read outside of those traditional sporting constraints.

Earlier in this section we alluded to some of the troubling aspects of this idea. How race, class, and physical ability get played out at a mythic event like this could easily reinforce hegemonic norms. Opportunities might exist for how race could be parodied and reconfigured by drawing attention to racialisation processes and effects without knowing necessarily how the actual body underneath is raced. But this runs the risk of reinscribing dominant racial discourses, perhaps unwittingly while concentrating on gender. Additionally, we are concerned about the effects of codifying drag outside of its subaltern culture/practice. Darrin Hagen felt that one of his triumphs in Edmonton was to bring drag to the daylight, creating and performing drag in plays at the Fringe Festival held there each summer. We wonder what the effects might be? Would drag become an "authorized transgression," losing its subversive edge (Markwell, 1998, p. 117)? Can the historical class meanings of butch and femme (and the African American identities of stud/bulldagger and fish) be recuperated or has the critical force of the meanings of those terms been foreclosed in the contemporary resurgence of these modes of being? And what class configurations will be lauded in these drag performatives, and at whose expense (no pun intended)? How many very skilled drag kings and queens can afford to fly to exotic destinations around the world to strut their stuff?

Whatever the outcome of this speculation about drag as a serious athletic event at the Gay Games, for "successful" gender parody to occur, the hegemonic understandings of the cultural practice of sport must be queered. The conventional masculine frame of sport restricts the critical force of most attempts of gender parody within an athletic or sporting context. For conventional gender classification to be disrupted in competitive sport, all aspects of gendered discourses must be up for grabs, including sport itself.

Conclusion

A queer theoretical analysis behoves me to call into question certain discourses and constructions beyond those of gender and sexuality. The Gay Games leaves intact the whole notion of sport, in fact contributes to maintaining its conventional disciplinary boundaries. Only 30 sporting events are on the bill for each Games. The FGG requires 22 core sports, and the host city has some flexibility in what other options it would include. Invariably, well-established and recognisable sporting contests are chosen. I have suggested that important psychic functions and discursive spaces are opened up by disrupting notions of 'real' sport. Sport itself must be disrupted, called into question, its disciplinary constraints must be raged against for the Gay Games' psychic survival.

While athletic participation for its own sake is lauded at the Gay Games and every event has a recreational category, sporting events are still carried out within a highly codified and organised competitive framework. As I have outlined, when sports that have national and/or international regulatory bodies are included in the Games, every attempt is made to have the event officially sanctioned. This sanctioning indicates to the world that 'homosexuals' are 'successful' athletes. It is important to call into question how the Games use this naturalised notion of sport as a transparently good and innocent vehicle for political emancipation. Because in taking apart the constitutive demands of sport, an ambivalence is produced for the Gay Games' ego, provoking an urgency for the letting go of Olympic, which will also be a disruption to a conventionally gendered form of gay:

> There can be no severing of this attachment to the object without a direct 'declaration' of loss and the desanctification of the object by externalising aggression against it....each single struggle of ambivalence loosen[s] the fixation of the libido to the object by disparaging it, denigrating it, and even as it were killing it off (Butler, 1997, p. 192).

Parodying sport, in the way I have suggested, would mean taking apart the shaming Olympics at their core and it would radically transfigure the Gay Games. There would be huge ramifications and the event would cease to exist as it currently does. I do think, however, that if one is to queer the Gay Games, such a radical approach might be necessary.

And while mourning the shaming Olympics would be a choice of life over death for the Gay Games, it cannot be read as a triumph of life over death. There can be no final breaking of the attachment (Butler, 1997). For the process of melancholia inaugurates the ego, which produces a psychic and social context. The legacies of the loss of the word 'Olympic' and the death of Tom Waddell will indelibly imprint the historicity and trajectory of the Gay Games and Cultural Events.

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The following abbreviations are used for frequently cited materials.
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FGG - Federation of Gay Games.
GG - Gay Games
GLC - Gay and Lesbian Center Collection in the SFPL History Centre.
MVAAA -Metropolitan Vancouver Athletic and Arts Association
SFAA - San Francisco Arts & Athletics, Inc.
SFPL - San Francisco Public Library - History Centre and Archives.

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